

MUHAMMAD'S IDEA OF THE LAST JUDGMENT AND ITS SOURCES.

T H E S I S
presented to the
UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH
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DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
by the
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MUHAMMAD'S IDEA OF THE LAST JUDGMENT
AND ITS SOURCES.

st Part: Every reader of the Qur'an is aware of how often and in what
roduc-
on. various ways reference is made to the Last Judgment. It was an
idea with which Muhammad was much occupied. Belief in the Last
Judgment was in the mind of the Prophet as strong as belief in
Allah. At first sight the references to this aspect of the
Prophet's thought are bewildering, not only in their frequency but
also in the variety of their expression. There is no uniform
expression in use, though the word 'day' (يوم) almost invariably
appears or is understood in the references to the subject; less
frequently the word 'hour' (ساعة) is used. To the Prophet, whether
speaking about the signs of its approach, or the terrible upheaval
which it brings in its train, or the rewards of the believers and
the torments of the doomed which fall in the midst of it all, the
Judgment is almost exclusively associated with the word 'day', -
so strangely and variously described with all kinds of the most
extraordinary epithets and paraphrases; when the word 'hour' is
used, it stands by itself invariably, with no qualifying expression
(but cf. Sura 41, 50). Our first task, then, must be to analyse
and systematise the references in the Qur'an to the Judgment which
contain the words 'day' and 'hour', if we would gain a clear and
comprehensive view of our subject, as it is pictured by Muhammad
himself in the pages of the Qur'an.^x

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The references may conveniently be tabulated as follows:-

- I. Specific Name without the word 'day' -
'The hour' (الساعة).

There are 40 occurrences of 'The Hour', referring to the Last
Judgment, viz., Sura 6, 31; 6, 40; 7, 186; 12, 107; 15, 85; 16, 79;
18, 20; 18, 34; 19, 77; 20, 15; 21, 50; 22, 1; 22, 7; 22, 54;
25, 12²; 30, 11; 30, 13; 30, 54; 31, 34; 33, 63²; 34, 3; 40, 49;
40, 61; 41, 47; 41, 50; 42, 16; 42, 17; 43, 61; 43, 66; 43, 85;
45, 26; 45, 31²; 47, 20; 54, 1; 54, 46²; 79, 42.

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ascribed to Muhammad in the later traditions of Islam.

II. Names with adjectives or nouns qualifying 'day' -

(a) 'The Day of Resurrection' (يوم القيامة).

This expression occurs no less than 70 times, viz., Sura 2, 79; 2, 107; 2, 169; 2, 208; 3, 48; 3, 71; 3, 155; 3, 176; 3, 182; 3, 192; 4, 89; 4, 109; 4, 140; 4, 157; 5, 17; 5, 40; 5, 69; 6, 12; 7, 30; 7, 166; 7, 171; 10, 61; 10, 93; 11, 63; 11, 100; 11, 101; 16, 27; 16, 29; 16, 94; 16, 125; 17, 14; 17, 60; 17, 64; 17, 99; 18, 105; 19, 95; 20, 100; 20, 101; 20, 124; 21, 48; 22, 9; 22, 17; 22, 60; 23, 16; 25, 69; 28, 41; 28, 42; 28, 61; 28, 71; 28, 72; 29, 12; 29, 24; 32, 25; 35, 15; 39, 17; 39, 25; 39, 32; 39, 48; 39, 61; 39, 67; 41, 40; 42, 44; 45, 16; 45, 25; 46, 4; 58, 8; 60, 3; 68, 39; 75, 1; 75, 6.

(b) 'The Day of Judgment' (يوم الدين).

There are 13 occurrences of this expression, viz., Sura 1, 3; 15, 35; 26, 82; 37, 20; 38, 79; 51, 12; 56, 56; 70, 26; 74, 47; 82, 15; 82, 17; 82, 18; 83, 11; in 3 passages, 'the Judgment' (الدين)^x occurs in this sense, without the word 'day' (يوم), which is presumably understood, viz., Sura 51, 6; 82, 9; 95, 7.

(c) The 'Last Day' (اليوم الآخر).

This expression appears 26 times, viz., Sura 2, 7; 2, 59; 2, 120; 2, 172; 2, 228; 2, 232; 2, 266; 3, 110; 4, 42; 4, 43; 4, 62; 4, 135; 4, 160; 5, 73; 9, 18; 9, 19; 9, 29; 9, 44; 9, 45; 9, 100; 24, 2; 29, 35; 33, 21; 58, 22; 60, 6; 65, 2.

(d) Various names, occurring less frequently.

i. "A Great Day" (يوم عظيم) occurs 10 times, viz., Sura 6, 15; 7, 57; 10, 16; 19, 38; 26, 135; 26, 156; 26, 189; 39, 15; 46, 20; 83, 5.

ii. 'The Day of Separation' (يوم الفصل) occurs 6 times, viz., Sura 37, 21; 44, 40; 77, 13; 77, 14; 77, 38; 78, 17.

iii. 'The Day of Reckoning' (يوم الحساب) occurs 4 times, viz., Sura 38, 15; 38, 25; 38, 53; 40, 28.

^xIn one other passage, Sura 107, 1, الدين occurs, but its meaning is doubtful.

- iv. 'A Painful Day' (**يوم أليم**) occurs twice, viz., Sura 11, 28; 43, 65.
- v. 'A Hard Day' (**يوم عسير**) occurs twice, viz., Sura 25, 28; 74, 9.
- vi. 'The Day of the Known Time' (**يوم الوقت المعلوم**) occurs twice, viz., Sura 15, 38; 38, 82.
- vii. 'The Day of Awakening' (**يوم البعث**) occurs twice, viz., Sura 30, 56².
- viii. 'The Day of Gathering' (**يوم الجمع**) occurs twice, viz., Sura 42, 5; 64, 9.
- ix. 'A Large Day' (**يوم كبير**) occurs once, viz., Sura 11, 3.
- x. 'An Encompassing Day' (**يوم محيط**) occurs once, viz., Sura 11, 85.
- xi. 'A Barren Day' (**يوم عقيم**) occurs once, viz., Sura 22, 54.
- xii. 'A Difficult Day' (**يوم عسر**) occurs once, viz., Sura 54, 8.
- xiii. 'A Known Day' (**يوم معلوم**) occurs once, viz., Sura 56, 50.
- xiv. 'A Stern, Calamitous Day' (**يوم عبوس قمطرير**) occurs once, viz., Sura 76, 10.
- xv. 'A Heavy Day' (**يوم ثقيل**) occurs once, viz., Sura 76, 27.
- xvi. 'The Day of Sighing' (**يوم الحسرة**) occurs once, viz., Sura 19, 40.
- xvii. 'The Day of the Covering' (**يوم الظلة**) occurs once, viz., Sura 26, 189.
- xviii. 'The Day of Conquest' (**يوم الفتح**) occurs once, viz., Sura 32, 29.
- xix. 'The Day of Meeting' (**يوم التلاق**) occurs once, viz., Sura 40, 15.
- xx. 'The Approaching Day' (**يوم الآزفة**) occurs once, viz., Sura 40, 19.
- xxi. 'The Day of Crying out' (**يوم التناد**) occurs once, viz., Sura 40, 34.
- xxii. 'The Day of Threats' (**يوم الوعيد**) occurs once, viz., Sura 50, 19.
- xxiii. 'The Day of Eternity' (**يوم الخلود**) occurs once, viz., Sura 50, 33.

xxiv. 'The Day of Going out' (يوم الخروج) occurs once, viz., Sura 50, 41.

xxv. 'The Day of Mutual Deceit' (يوم التغابن) occurs once, viz., Sura 64, 9.

xxvi. 'The Sure (or True) Day' (اليوم الحق) occurs once, viz., Sura 78, 39.

xxvii. 'The Promised Day' (اليوم الموعود) occurs once, viz., Sura 85, 2.

The following expressions also refer to the Last Judgment, but the word 'day' does not appear:

xxviii. 'The Inevitable' (الحاقّة) occurs three times, viz., Sura 69, 1; 69, 2; 69, 3.

xxix. 'The Calamity (or Decision)' (القارعة) occurs three times, viz., Sura 69, 4; 101, 1².

xxx. 'The Happening' (الواقعة) occurs twice, viz., Sura 56, 1; 69, 15.

xxxi. 'The Approaching' (الآزفة) occurs once, viz., Sura 53, 58.

xxxii. 'The Overshadowing' (الغاشية) occurs once, viz., Sura 88, 1.

xxxiii. 'The Stunning' (الصافّة) occurs once, viz., Sura 80, 33.

III. Specific use of the names 'That Day' and 'The Day';

(a) 'That Day' (يومئذ) occurs no less than 64 times, viz., Sura 4, 45; 6, 16; 7, 7; 14, 50; 16, 89; 20, 102; 20, 107; 20, 108; 22, 55; 23, 103; 24, 25; 25, 24; 25, 26; 25, 28; 27, 91; 28, 66; 30, 13; 30, 42; 30, 57; 37, 32; 40, 9; 42, 46; 43, 67; 45, 26; 52, 11; 55, 39; 69, 15; 69, 16, 69, 17; 69, 18; 70, 11; 74, 9; 75, 10; 75, 12; 75, 13; 75, 22; 75, 24; 75, 30; 77, 15, 77, 19; 77, 24; 77, 28; 77, 34; 77, 37; 77, 40; 77, 45; 77, 47; 77, 49; 79, 8; 80, 37; 80, 38; 80, 40; 82, 19; 83, 10; 83, 15; 88, 2; 88, 8; 89, 24²; 89, 25; 99, 4; 99, 6; 100, 11; 102, 8.

(b) 'The Day' (اليوم) occurs 31 times, viz., Sura 6, 93; 7, 49; 16, 29; 17, 15; 19, 39; 20, 126; 23, 67; 23, 113; 25, 15; 34, 41; 36, 54; 36, 55; 36, 59; 36, 64; 36, 65; 37, 26; 40, 16;

40, 17²; 43, 38; 43, 68; 45, 27; 45, 33; 45, 34; 46, 19; 50, 21; 57, 12; 57, 14; 66, 7; 69, 35; 83, 34.

Very rarely 'this' (هذا) or 'that' (ذلك) appears qualifying 'Day' (يوم) with the article or a suffix, viz.,
 'This Day' (هذا اليوم), in Sura 5, 119;
 'This (is) your Day' (هذا يومكم), in Sura 21, 103;
 'This your Day' (.يومكم هذا), in Sura 6, 130; 32, 14; 39, 71; 45, 33;
 'This their Day' (.يومهم هذا), in Sura 7, 49;
 'That Day' (ذلك اليوم), in Sura 70, 44; 76, 11.

IV. The names 'a Day' and 'the Day that', followed by various descriptive clauses:

(a) 'A Day' (يومًا , بيوم , يومًا) occurs 20 times, viz.,
 Sura 2, 45; 2, 117; 2, 255; 2, 281; 3, 7; 3, 24; 11, 105²; 14, 36;
 14, 43; 24, 37; 30, 42; 31, 32; 32, 4; 34, 29; 42, 46; 70, 4; 73, 17;
 76, 7; 77, 12.

(b) 'The Day that' or 'the Day when' (يومًا) occurs no less than 101 times, viz.,
 Sura 3, 28; 3, 102; 5, 108; 6, 22; 6, 73; 6, 128; 6, 159; 7, 13;
 7, 51; 9, 35; 9, 78; 10, 29; 10, 46; 11, 11; 11, 107; 14, 42; 14,
 44; 14, 49; 15, 36; 16, 86; 16, 91; 16, 112; 17, 54; 17, 73; 18, 45;
 18, 50; 19, 15; 19, 34; 19, 39; 19, 88; 20, 102; 21, 104; 22, 2;
 23, 102; 24, 24; 24, 64; 25, 18; 25, 24; 25, 27; 25, 29; 26, 87;
 26, 88; 27, 85; 27, 89; 28, 62; 28, 65; 28, 74; 29, 55; 30, 11;
 30, 13; 30, 54; 33, 43; 33, 66; 34, 39; 37, 144; 38, 80; 40, 35;
 40, 49; 40, 54; 40, 55; 41, 18; 41, 47; 44, 9; 44, 15; 44, 41;
 45, 26; 46, 19; 46, 33; 46, 34; 50, 29; 50, 40; 50, 41; 50, 43;
 51, 13; 52, 9; 52, 13; 52, 46; 54, 6; 54, 48; 57, 12; 57, 13;
 58, 7; 58, 19; 64, 9; 66, 8; 68, 42; 70, 8; 70, 43; 73, 14; 77, 35;
 78, 18; 78, 38; 78, 41; 79, 6; 79, 35; 79, 46; 80, 34; 82, 19;
 83, 6; 86, 9; 101, 3.

In addition, 5 cases are found where 'Day' appears with the suffix 'their' (يومهم), viz.,

Sura 40, 16; 43, 83; 51, 60; 52, 45; 70, 42.

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From this analysis various points emerge in connection with the idea of the Last Judgment as it filtered through Muhammad's mind.

- I. We gather that the general nature of the Last Judgment in the Prophet's view was an awakening and assembling of men, a judging and separating of them. The Prophet looked forward to 'a Day' when Allah would awaken and raise mankind from the dead, call them forth to stand before Him, assemble them and gather them together to tell them of their deeds: "Then shall ye be waked up on the day of Resurrection" (Sura 23, 16);^x "He said, 'Respite me till the day when (mankind) shall be raised from the dead'" (Sura 7, 13); "On that day shall God call you forth, and ye shall answer by praising Him; and ye shall seem to have tarried but a little while" (Sura 17, 54); "The day when mankind shall stand before the Lord of the worlds" (Sura 83, 6); "On the day when God shall raise them all to life, and shall tell them of their doings. God hath taken count of them, though they have forgotten them! and God is witness over all things" (Sura 58, 7); "Dost thou not see that God knoweth all that is in the heavens and all that is in the earth? Three persons speak not privately together, but He is their fourth; nor five, but He is their sixth; nor fewer, nor more, but wherever they be He is with them. Then on the day of Resurrection He will tell them of their deeds: for God knoweth all things" (Sura 58, 8); "Is not whatever is in the heavens and the earth God's? He knoweth your state; and one day shall men be assembled before Him, and He will tell them of what they have done: for God knoweth all things" (Sura 24, 64).

Believers and unbelievers out of every nation would be gathered in mutual recognition for mutual separation: "This is the day of Severing, when we will assemble you and your ancestors" (Sura 77, 38); "The day when He shall gather you together for the

^x The translations throughout are taken from "The Koran, translated from the Arabic, by the Rev. J. M. Rodwell, M.A." (Everyman's Library) London, 1915, but reference has been constantly made to the original Arabic in 'Corani Textus Arabicus' Gustavus Huegel, Lipsiae, 1881.

day of mutual gathering, will be the day of mutual deceit"
 (Sura 64, 9); "One day we will gather the God-fearing before the
 God of Mercy with honours due" (Sura 19, 88); "And on that day
 shall be gathered out of every nation a company of those who have
 gainsaid our signs, in separate bands" (Sura 27, 85); "Moreover
 on that day He will gather them all together: They shall seem as
 though they had waited but an hour of the day! They shall recognise
 one another! Now perish they who denied the meeting with God, and
 were not guided aright!" (Sura 10, 46); "And on that day will we
 gather them all together: then will we say to those who added gods
 to God, 'To your place, ye and those added gods of yours!' Then we
 will separate between them" (Sura 10, 29); "And on that day
 when the hour shall arrive, shall men be separated one from another"
 (Sura 30, 13).

Allah, with whom full sovereignty would be on that day, would
 proceed to judge between them, rewarding believers and punishing
 unbelievers. The final decision would be in His hands as between
 the fearers of Allah, the Hypocrites, the Idolaters, the Jews, the
 Sabeites, the Christians, and the Magians: "On that day the
 Kingdom shall be God's: He shall judge between them" (Sura 22,
 55); "As to those who believe, and the Jews, and the Sabeites, and
 the Christians, and the Magians, and those who join other gods with
 God, of a truth, God shall decide between them on the day of
 Resurrection: for God is witness of all things" (Sura 22, 17);
 "On nought lean the Jews', say the Christians: Yet both are readers
 of the Book. So with like words say they who have no knowledge.
 But on the Resurrection day, God shall judge between them as to
 that in which they differ" (Sura 2, 107); "They (the Hypocrites)
 watch you narrowly. Then if God grant you a victory, they say,
 'Are we not with you?' And if the infidels meet with a success,
 they say to them, 'Were we not superior to you: and did we not
 defend you from those believers?' God shall judge betwixt ye on
 the day of the Resurrection, and God will by no means make a way

for the infidels over the believers" (Sura 4, 140); "To every people have we appointed observances which they observe. Therefore, let them not dispute this matter with thee, but bid them to thy Lord, for thou art on the right way: But if they debate with thee, then say: God best knoweth what ye do! God will judge between you on the day of the Resurrection, as to the matters wherein ye differ" (Sura 22, 66-68).

II. The coming of 'that Day' was certain, it would be sudden, and perhaps it was already near. The Prophet often stressed the certainty of its coming. Without a doubt it would come; its time was fixed and none could retard it or hasten it on: "Lo! the day of Severance is fixed" (Sura 78, 17); "O our Lord! For the day of whose coming there is not a doubt, thou wilt surely gather mankind together. Verily, God will not fail the promise" (Sura 3, 7); "Set thy face then towards the right faith, ere the day come which none can hinder God from bringing on. On that day shall they be parted in twain" (Sura 30, 42); "Say: Ye are menaced with a day, which not for an hour shall ye retard or hasten on" (Sura 34, 29); "Aye, 'the Hour' will surely come: there is no doubt of it: but most men believe it not" (Sura 40, 61); "Say: God giveth you life, then causeth you to die: then will He assemble you on the day of Resurrection: there is no doubt of it: but most men have not this knowledge" (Sura 45, 25); "God! there is no god but He! He will certainly assemble you on the day of Resurrection. There is no doubt of it. And whose word is more true than God's?" (Sura 4, 89); "It is thus moreover that we have revealed to thee an Arabic Koran, that thou mayest warn the mother city and all around it, and that thou mayest warn them of that day of the gathering, of which there is no doubt - when part shall be in Paradise and part in the flame" (Sura 42, 5).

In the same way the suddenness of its coming was emphasized: the time of its coming was known only to Allah, hence its advent would be unexpected: "They will ask thee of the Hour - for what

time is its coming fixed? Say: The knowledge of it is only with my Lord: none shall manifest it in its time but He: it is the burden of the Heavens and of the Earth: not otherwise than on a sudden will it come on you" (Sura 7, 186); "But the infidels will not cease to doubt concerning it, until 'the Hour' come suddenly upon them, or until the chastisement of the day of desolation come upon them" (Sura 22, 54); "Lost are they who deny the meeting with God until 'the Hour' cometh suddenly upon them! Then will they say, 'Oh, our sighs for past negligence of this hour!' And they shall bear their burdens on their back! Will not that be evil with which they shall be burdened?" (Sura 6, 31); "For what wait they but for the Hour to come suddenly on them, while they expect it not?" (Sura 43, ⁶⁶ ~~53~~).

Even Muhammad himself did not know exactly when it would come, although he warned men of its near approach. Believers dreaded its approach, but unbelievers challenged its speedy coming: "Men will ask thee of 'the Hour'. Say: The knowledge of it is with God alone: and who can tell thee whether haply the Hour be not nigh at hand?" (Sura 33, 63); "..... but who shall inform thee whether haply 'the Hour' be nigh? They who believe not in it, challenge its speedy coming: but they who believe are afraid because of it, and know it to be a truth. Are not they who dispute of 'the Hour' in a vast error?" (Sura 42, 16-17); "Warn them, then, of the approaching day, when men's hearts shall rise up, choking them, into their throats" (Sura 40, 18); "The day that must draw nigh, draweth nigh already: and yet none but God can reveal its time" (Sura 53, 58); "Verily, we warn you of a chastisement close at hand: The day on which a man shall see the deeds which his hands have sent before him; and when the unbelievers shall say, 'Oh! would I were dust!'" (Sura 78, 40-41); "Verily that which ye are promised is imminent. When the stars, therefore, shall be blotted out, and when the heaven shall be cleft, and when the mountains shall be scattered in dust, and when

the Apostles shall have a time assigned them; until what day shall that time be deferred? To the day of severing!" (Sura 77, 7-13); "Woe on that day to those who charged with imposture! Eat ye and enjoy yourselves a little while. Verily ye are doers of evil!" (Sura 77, 45-46).

It would seem that in the early impassioned utterances of the Prophet, as Sura 53, 58; 77, 7-13; 77, 45-46; 78, 40-41; just cited, the nearness of the great day was emphasized, while as time went on (cf. Sura 42, 16-17; 33, 63 ^{supra} ~~above~~), although the day of Judgment never became less real to the Prophet, the tendency was to modify the emphasis laid on its nearness. The great day would undoubtedly come, and come suddenly, but the sense of its nearness was less vivid in the Prophet's mind than at first.

III. 'The Day' would be accompanied by various happenings and numerous catastrophic events. That the Prophet had any definite sequence of events in his mind as happening before or on 'the Day' is improbable. In one passage there is mention of the signs of 'the Hour' as having already come: "For what do the (infidels) wait, but that the Hour come suddenly on them? Already are its signs (أشراطها)^x come, and when it hath come on them indeed, how can they be warned then?" (Sura 47, 20). What these signs were is nowhere explicitly stated in the Qur'an. There is also an obscure verse (Sura 43, 61), which implies, according to Rodwell*, that Jesus will be, at His return to this earth, a sign (آية) of the Hour, but the interpretation of this verse is very uncertain; Rodwell himself adds in a footnote - "Some refer this to the Koran as revealing the last Hour".

The various happenings in connection with 'the Day' are evidently not set down in any order. We are told that Christians will be ranked above unbelievers, but that the hatreds and enmities among Christians will continue until 'that Day'; the hatreds among

^x ἀπὸ τῶν σημείων. The ordinary word for 'signs' is آيات
cf. S. G., Sura 6, 159.

*The Koran, translated from the Arabic, by the Rev. J. M. Rodwell, M. A., (Everyman's Library), London, 1915, p. 139.

the Jews will likewise last, and they will be evil entreated and chastised until 'the Day'. Before 'the Day' every city will be destroyed or grievously chastised. Iblis will be respited with a curse upon him until the coming of the great Day. The following passages bring out these points: "Remember when God said, 'O Jesus! verily I will cause thee to die, and will take thee up to myself and deliver thee from those who believe not; and I will place those who follow thee above those who believe not, until the day of Resurrection. Then, to me is your return, and wherein ye differ will I decide between you'" (Sura 3, 48); "And of those who say, 'We are Christians', have we accepted the covenant. But they (too) have forgotten a part of what they were taught; wherefore we have stirred up enmity and hatred among them that shall last till the day of the Resurrection; and in the end will God tell them of their doings" (Sura 5, 17); "'The hand of God', say the Jews, 'is chained up!' Their own hands shall be chained up - and for that which they have said shall they be cursed. Nay! outstretched are both His hands! At His own pleasure does He bestow gifts. That which hath been sent down to thee from thy Lord will surely increase the rebellion and unbelief of many of them; and we have put enmity and hatred between them that shall last till the day of the Resurrection. Oft as they kindle (a beacon) fire of war shall God quench it! and their aim will be to abet disorder on the earth: but God loveth not the abettors of disorder" (Sura 5, 69); "But when they proudly persisted in that which was forbidden, we said to them, 'Become scouted apes'; and then thy Lord declared that until the day of the Resurrection, he would surely send against them (the Jews) those who should evil entreat and chastise them: for prompt is thy Lord to punish; and He is forgiving, merciful" (Sura 7, 166); "There is no city which we will not destroy before the day of Resurrection, or chastise it with a grievous chastisement. This is written in the Book" (Sura 17, 60); "Seest thou this man (Adam) whom thou hast honoured above me (Iblis)? Verily, if thou respite

me till the day of Resurrection, I will destroy his offspring, except a few" (Sura 17, 64); "And the curse shall be on thee (Iblis) till the day of Reckoning" (Sura 15, 35; cf. 38, 79); "He said, 'One then of the respited shalt thou be, till the day of the Predestined Time'" (Sura 15, 37-38; cf. 38, 82).

Such happenings however can hardly be reckoned as signs of the approach of 'the Day'. The passages in the Qur'an that apparently indicate events prior to 'the Day' itself cannot be distinguished from those describing the various happenings of 'that Day'. The Prophet was evidently entirely taken up with the thought of 'the great Day' itself, and not with the particular order of the events connected therewith. He speaks of the earthquake of the last Hour as the mighty chastisement of God, when pregnant women will give birth to children, and mothers will forsake their babes, and men will seem to be drunken (Sura 22, 1-2). Two successive trumpet-blasts on the Resurrection day are referred to in the following significant passage: "But they have not deemed of God as is His due; for on the Resurrection day the whole Earth shall be but his handful, and in his right hand shall the Heavens be folded together. Praise be to Him! and high be He uplifted above the partners they join with Him! And there shall be a blast on the trumpet (*ونفخ في الصور*), and all who are in the Heavens and all who are in the Earth shall expire, save those whom God shall vouchsafe (to live) Then shall there be another blast on it, and lo! arising they shall gaze around them; And the earth shall shine with the light of her Lord, and the Book shall be set, and the prophets shall be brought up, and the witnesses, and judgment shall be given between them with equity; and none shall be wronged. And every soul shall receive as it shall have wrought, for well knoweth He men's actions" (Sura 39, 67-70). There is a similar reference to two blasts in Sura 79, 6-14, but the words used for the trumpet-blowing are different: "One day, the disturbing trumpet-blast shall disturb it. (*ترجف الراجفة*),

Which the second blast shall follow: (الرادفة)

Men's hearts on that day shall quake:-

Their looks be downcast.

The infidels will say, 'Shall we indeed be restored as at first?

What! when we have become rotten bones?'

'This then', say they, 'will be a return to loss'.

Verily, it will be but a single blast, (زجرة واحدة).

And lo! they are on the surface of the earth".

Associated with the trumpet-blast - only one blast is usually referred to - is the upheaval of the earth and the cleaving asunder of the heaven, as in Sura 69, 13-16:

"But when one blast shall be blown on the trumpet,

And the earth and the mountains shall be upheaved, and shall both be crushed into dust at a single crushing,

On that day the woe that must come suddenly shall suddenly come,

And the heaven shall cleave asunder, for on that day it shall be fragile;"

This trumpet-blast is presumably a sign of 'the great Day', but even it cannot be said to precede 'the Day', for it is closely associated with that day's events, occurring itself on 'the Day' -

"And there shall be a blast on the trumpet, - it is the threatened day!" (Sura 50, 19); "For when there shall be a trump on the

trumpet, (نقر في الناقور)^x

That shall be a distressful day,

A day, to the infidels, devoid of ease" (Sura 74, 8-10);

"On that day there shall be a blast on the trumpet, and we will gather the wicked together on that day with leaden eyes" (Sura 20, 102);

"Lo! the day of Severance is fixed;

The day when there shall be a blast on the trumpet, and ye

^x
This is the earliest occurrence (acc.to Nöldeke's chronological arrangement of the Suras) of an expression for 'trumpet-blowing' but this expression is nowhere repeated in the Qur'an.

shall come in crowds,

And the heaven shall be opened and be full of portals,

And the mountains shall be set in motion, and melt into thin vapour" (Sura 78, 17-20).^x

The shout of the crier, too, does not precede 'the Day', as if heralding its approach, but is closely associated with the events of 'the Day' itself, as in Sura 50, 40-43: "And list for the day whereon the crier shall cry from a place near to every one alike:

The day on which men shall in truth hear that shout will be the day of their coming forth (from the grave).

Verily, we cause to live, and we cause to die. To us shall all return.

On the day when the earth shall swiftly cleave asunder over the (dead) will this gathering be easy to us";

Similarly in Sura 54, 6-8:

"..... On the day when the summoner shall summon to a stern business,

With downcast eyes shall they come forth from their graves, as if they were scattered locusts,

Hastening to the summoner. 'This', shall the infidels say, 'is the distressful day'".

In like close connection with all that happens on 'that Day' are the following: a book will be proffered to every man, as in Sura 17, 14-15: "And every man's fate have we fastened about his neck: and on the day of Resurrection will we bring forth to him a book which shall be proffered to him wide open: - 'Read thy Book: there needeth none but thyself to make out an account against thee this day'"; and a witness will be raised up out of every nation, as in Sura 16, 86: "But one day, we will raise up a witness out of every nation: then shall the infidels have no permission (to make excuses), and they shall find no favour"; significantly Muhammad will be raised up as a witness against the people of Mecca,

^x cf. also 6, 73; 27, 89.

as in Sura 16, 91: "And one day we will summon up in every people a witness against them from among themselves; and we will bring thee up as a witness against these (Meccans): for to thee have we sent down the Book which cleareth up everything, a guidance, and mercy, and glad tidings to those who resign themselves to God (to Muslims)"; while Jesus will be a witness against the people of the Book, as in Sura 4, 157: "There shall not be one of the people of the Book but shall believe in Him (i.e. Jesus) before his death, and in the day of Resurrection, He will be a witness against them."

Various commotions and transformations in the heavens and on the earth form, in the Prophet's mind, constant accompaniments of 'the great Day'. The mountains, e.g., will pass away and the earth become a level plain (Sura 18, 45); the heaven will be rolled up as one rolls written scrolls (Sura 21, 104); the heaven with its clouds will be cleft for the angels to descend (Sura 25, 27); the moon will be darkened, and the sun and the moon united (Sura 75, 8-9);^x the stars will disperse (Sura 82, 2); the heaven will give out a palpable smoke, which will enshroud mankind (Sura 44, 9);

"Reeling on that day the Heaven shall reel,

And stirring shall the mountains stir" (Sura 52, 9-10); the heavens will become like molten brass and the mountains like flocks of wool (Sura 70, 8-9); the earth and the mountains will be shaken, and the mountains will become a loose sandheap (Sura 73, 14); a complete transformation of the heavens and the earth is referred to in Sura 14, 49; "On the day when the Earth shall be changed into another Earth, and the Heavens also, men shall come forth unto God, the Only, the Victorious."

It is clear that the Judgment is cosmic in character, involving not only mankind but also the world. Evidently it takes place on the earth, although the earth itself will be changed on that day:

^xIn Sura 54, 1, the unusual statement is made -

"The hour hath approached and the moon hath been cleft":

certainly if what is described about the earth comes to pass, it will be a place quite different from what it is at present.

IV. The duration of 'the Day' is only twice referred to, once as 1,000 years, and once as 50,000 years. In Sura 32, 4 we read: From the Heaven to the Earth He governeth all things: hereafter shall they come up to Him on a day whose length shall be a thousand of such years as ye reckon"; and in Sura 70, 1-4:

"A suitor sued for punishment to light suddenly
On the infidels: none can hinder
God from inflicting it, the master of those ascents,
By which the angels and the spirit ascend to him in a day,
whose length is fifty thousand years".

Presumably it is 'the Day of Judgment' that is referred to, in these two passages, as lasting 1,000 years and 50,000 years respectively; at least the context seems to indicate that that is the case. We know, however, that Muhammad was completely obsessed with the thought of 'the great Day', and was not concerned so much about the exact length of 'the Day' as about the fact of its coming and the impression that fact ought to make on men's minds. We should not stress therefore the exact numbers that are here given for the length of 'that Day', but rather interpret them as hyperbolic.

In Sura 22, 46 we find that "a day with thy Lord is as a thousand years, as ye reckon them"; and it is significant that the descent of the angels and the spirit from Allah takes place in a single night, as in Sura 97, 4-5: "Therein (on the night of power) descend the angels and the spirit by permission of their Lord for every matter;

And all is peace till the breaking of the morn".

The Prophet in a word was not troubling about the exact length of the Judgment Day but was only anxious to bring home to his hearers its great and vital importance.

V. Just recompense - whether reward or punishment - would be paid to all, every soul being dealt with on its own merits. The general purpose of the Judgment would be to deal justly with everyone - whether believer or unbeliever. Every soul would be recompensed according to its merits, none being treated unjustly: "Verily 'the Hour' is coming - I all but manifest it - that every soul may be recompensed for its labours" (Sura 20, 15-16); "It is not the Prophet who will defraud you: - but he who shall defraud, shall come forth with his defraudings on the day of the Resurrection: then shall every soul be paid what it hath merited, and they shall not be treated with injustice" (Sura 3, 155); "Just balances will we set up for the day of the Resurrection, neither shall any soul be wronged in aught; though, were a work but the weight of a grain of mustard seed, we would bring it forth (to be weighed): and our reckoning will suffice" (Sura 21, 48); "And on that day shall no soul be wronged in the least: neither shall ye be rewarded but as ye shall have wrought" (Sura 36, 54); "On that day shall every soul be recompensed as it hath deserved: no injustice on that day! Verily, God will be swift to reckon" (Sura 40, 17); "Fear the day when ye shall return to God: then shall every soul be rewarded according to its desert, and none shall have injustice done to them" (Sura 2, 281). Every nation too would be summoned to its own book for judgment according to its deeds recorded therein, as in Sura 45, 27-28:

"And thou shalt see every nation kneeling:
to its own book shall every nation be summoned: -
'This day shall ye be repaid as ye have wrought.

This our Book will speak of you with truth:
therein have we written down whatever ye have done".

It will be convenient to make clear at this point that

(a) women, as well as men, are included in the Judgment: "One day thou shalt see the believers, men and women, with their light running before them, and on their right hand.

On that day the hypocrites, both men and women, shall say to those who believe, 'Tarry for us, that we may kindle our light at yours'" (Sura 57, 12-13); "Truly the men who resign themselves to God, and the women who resign themselves, and the believing men and the believing women, and the devout men and the devout women, and the men of truth and the women of truth, and the patient men and the patient women, and the humble men and the humble women, and the men who give alms and the women who give alms, and the men who fast and the women who fast, and the chaste men and the chaste women, and the men and the women who oft remember God: for them hath God prepared forgiveness and a rich recompense" (Sura 33, 35); "Therefore will God punish the hypocritical men and the hypocritical women, and the men and the women who join gods with God; but to the believing men and women will God turn him: for God is indulgent, merciful (Sura 33, 73);

(b) the Jinn, also, are included: they are to be judged like mankind, for among them are those who believe and those who are unbelievers: "On the day whereon God shall gather them all together

'O race of Djinn', (will He say), 'much did ye exact from mankind'. And their votaries from among men shall say, 'O our Lord! we rendered one another mutual services: but we have reached our set term, which thou hast set for us'. He will say, 'Your abode the fire! therein abide ye for ever: unless as God shall will'. Verily thy Lord is wise, knowing" (Sura 6, 128); "O race of Djinn and men! came not apostles to you from among yourselves, rehearsing my signs to you, and warning you of the meeting of this your day?" (Sura 6, 130); "He shall say, 'Enter ye into the Fire with the generations of Djinn and men who have preceded you" (Sura 7, 36). Most instructive are these words put into the mouths of the Jinn themselves: "And there are among us good, and (others) among us of another kind:- we are of various sorts: And verily we

thought that no one could weaken God on earth, neither could we escape from him by flight: Wherefore as soon as we had heard 'the guidance' we believed in it; and whoever believeth in his Lord, need not fear either loss or wrong. There are some among us who have resigned themselves to God (^{ie,} the Muslims); and there are others of us who have gone astray. And whoso resigneth himself to God pursueth the way of truth; but they who go astray from it shall be fuel for Hell" (Sura 72, 11-15);

(c). even the beasts seem to be included: they will be assembled, presumably for the Judgment, though the references are not clear: "And when the wild beasts shall be gathered together" (Sura 81, 5); "No kind of beast is there on earth nor fowl that flieth with its wings, but is a folk like you: nothing have we passed over in the Book: then unto their Lord shall they be gathered" (Sura 6, 38); "Among his signs is the creation of the Heavens and of the Earth, and the creatures which he hath scattered over both: and, for their gathering together when he will, He is all-powerful!" (Sura 42, 28); "There is no moving thing on earth whose nourishment dependeth not on God; he knoweth its haunts and final resting place: all is in the clear Book" (Sura 11, 8).

VI. The basis of reward or avoidance of punishment would be a present belief in Allah and the Last Day along with good works in this world. This applied to the Prophet's followers and to the Jews, Christians, and Sabeites, as Sura 2, 59 makes clear: "Verily, they who believe (^{ie,} Muslims), and they who follow the Jewish religion, and the Christians, and the Sabeites - whoever of these believeth in God and the Last Day, and doeth that which is right, shall have their reward with their Lord: fear shall not come upon them, neither shall they be grieved" (cf. Sura 5, 73).

The contrast between believers and unbelievers generally in this regard is vividly brought out in Sura 4, 41-44: " We have made ready a shameful chastisement for the unbelievers, and

~~and~~ for those who bestow their substance in alms to be seen of men, and believe not in God and in the Last Day. Whoever hath Satan for his companion, an evil companion hath he! But what (blessedness would be) theirs, if they should believe in God and in the Last Day, and bestow alms out of what God hath vouchsafed them; for God taketh knowledge of them! God truly will not wrong any one of the weight of a mote; and if there be any good deed, he will repay it doubly; and from his presence shall be given a great recompense". In the same Sura the contrast between believers and unbelievers among the Jews is similarly described in vv.158-160: "For the wickedness of certain Jews, and because they turn many from the way of God, we have forbidden them goodly viands which had been before allowed them. And because they have taken usury, though they were forbidden it, and have devoured men's substance in frivolity, we have got ready for the infidels among them a grievous torment. But their men of solid knowledge, and the believers who believe in that which hath been sent down to thee, and in what hath been sent down before thee, and who observe prayer, and pay the alms of obligation, and believe in God and the latter day, - these! we will give them a great reward". Many of the references however in this connection are of such a general character that it would be unwise to read too much into them. The Prophet, it would seem, was in the habit of repeating favourite phrases that had little, if any, bearing on the context. 'The Last Day' was one of these phrases, which is frequently conjoined with 'Allah' as an object of belief, being used in a more or less perfunctory fashion, e.g., "The divorced shall wait the result, until they have had their courses thrice, nor ought they to conceal what God hath created in their wombs, if they believe in God and the last day; and it will be more just in their husbands to bring them back when in this state, if they desire what is right" (Sura 2, 228); "O ye who believe! obey God and obey the apostle, and those among

you invested with authority; and if in aught ye differ, bring it before God and the apostle, if ye believe in God and in the latter day. This is the best and fairest way of settlement" (Sura 4, 62); "He only should visit the temples of God who believeth in God and the last day, and observeth prayer, and payeth the legal alms, and dreadeth none but God. These haply will be among the rightly guided" (Sura 9, 18); "The whore and the whoremonger - scourge each of them with an hundred stripes; and let not compassion keep you from (carrying out) the sentence of God, if ye believe in God and the last day: And let some of the faithful witness their chastisement" (Sura 24, 2). Other objects of belief, in addition to 'Allah' and 'the Last Day', are mentioned similarly in Sura 2, 172: "There is no piety in turning your faces toward the east or the west, but he is pious who believeth in God, and the last day, and the angels, and the Scriptures, and the prophets; who for the love of God disburseth his wealth to his kindred, and to the orphans, and the needy, and the wayfarer, and those who ask, and for ransoming; who observeth prayer, and payeth the legal alms, and who is of those who are faithful to their engagements, when they have engaged in them, and patient under ills and hardships, and in time of trouble: these are they who are just, and these are they who fear the Lord". Sometimes instead of belief in 'Allah and the last day', it is the attitude of men to 'Allah and His Apostle' that determines their fate, as in Sura 4, 17-18:" And whoso obeyeth God and his apostle, him shall God bring into gardens beneath whose (shades) the rivers flow, therein to abide for ever: and this, the great blessedness! And whoso shall rebel against God and his apostle, and shall break his bounds, him shall God place in the fire to abide therein for ever; and his shall be a shameful torment" (Cf.Sura 48, 17).

This obviously implies a heightened claim on the part of the Prophet in the community.^x

x

It is significant that the phrase 'the Last Day' only occurs once in a Meccan Sura, viz., 29, 35.

VII. The supreme sovereignty on 'that Day' would be Allah's, the Prophet being only a warner, while men could hope for little or no intercession, ransom, or help. In the Fatiḥa, (i.e. Sura 1) Allah is apostrophised as 'King of the day of reckoning':

"Praise be to God, Lord of the worlds!

The compassionate, the merciful!

King on the day of reckoning!

Thee (only) do we worship, and to Thee do we cry for help.

Guide Thou us on the straight path,

The path of those to whom Thou hast been gracious: - with whom Thou art not angry, and who go not astray";

All empire shall be in very deed with the God of mercy on that day (Sura 25, 28); all sovereignty on that day shall be with Allah (Sura 82, 19); God alone has knowledge of the Hour (Sura 7, 186; 43, 85; 79, 44); Allah shall be the sole refuge on that day:

"On that day man shall cry, 'Where is there a place to flee to!'

But in vain - there is no refuge -

With thy Lord on that day shall be the sole asylum"

(Sura 75, 10-12); no one shall speak on that day but with Allah's permission: "When that day shall come no one shall speak a word but by His leave, and some shall be miserable and others blessed" (Sura 11, 107): The Prophet proclaimed himself merely a warner with regard to that day, as in Sura 79, 45: "And thou art only charged with the warning of those who fear it". In Sura 88, regarding the tidings of the day that shall overshadow, we read:

"Warn thou then, for thou art a warner only:

Thou hast no authority over them" (vv.21-22).

He himself feared, should he rebel against Allah, the punishment of the great day (Sura 6, 15; cf. 10, 16; 39, 15); also for his people did he fear the chastisement of the great day, if they disregarded his warnings (Sura 11, 3). In this regard Muhammad was like Allah's warners of ancient days, as Noah, Shoaib, Hud, and others: "We sent Noah of old unto his people:- 'Verily I come to

you a plain admonisher, that ye worship none but God. Verily I fear for you the punishment of a grievous day'" (Sura 11, 27-28; cf.7, 57); "And we sent to Madian their brother Shoaib. He said, 'O my people! worship God: no other God have you than He: give not short weight and measure: I see indeed that ye revel in good things: but I fear for you the punishment of the all-emcompassing day' "(Sura 11, 85); "Remember, too, the brother of Ad (i.e.Hud) when he warned his people in Al Ahkaf - and before and since his time there have been warners - 'Worship none but God: verily I fear for you the punishment of the great day'" (Sura 46, 20; cf.26, 135).

On the last great day, when Allah would thus be supreme, and the punishment of which was feared by Muhammad for himself and his people, there would be little hope of intercession either for believers or unbelievers. It was a day when "soul shall not satisfy for soul at all, nor shall any intercession be accepted from them, nor shall any ransom be taken, neither shall they be helped" (Sura 2, 45; cf.2, 117); a man's own concerns on that day would be enough, as in Sura 80, 33-37;

"But when the stunning trumpet-blast shall arrive,

On that day shall a man fly from his brother,

And his mother and his father,

And his wife and his children;

For every man of them on that day his own concerns shall be enough"; neither a father nor a son could atone for the other: "O men! fear ye your Lord, and dread the day whereon father shall not atone for son, neither shall a son in the least atone for his father" (Sura 31, 32); every soul must plead for itself, one being powerless for another: "On a certain day shall every soul come to plead for itself, and every soul shall be repaid according to its deeds; and they shall not be wronged" (Sura 16, 112), and "Who shall teach thee what the day of doom is? It is a day when one soul shall be powerless for another soul: all sovereignty on that day shall be with God" (Sura 82, 18-19). The Prophet evidently rejected the idea

of intercession on man's behalf by anyone on the great day, yet in some passages a saving clause is added which shows that his rejection of the idea was not absolute. For example in Sura 20, 108, we read: "No intercession shall avail on that day, save his whom the God of mercy shall allow to intercede, and whose words he shall approve; similarly we read in Sura 19, 88-90:

"One day we will gather the God-fearing before the God of Mercy with honours due:

But the sinners will we drive unto Hell, like flocks driven to the watering.

None shall have power to intercede, save he who hath received permission at the hands of the God of Mercy". (cf. Sura 78, 38). It is significant in this connection that the following prayer is put on Abraham's lips: "Forgive me and my parents and the faithful, on the day wherein account shall be taken" (Sura 14, 42); and that the Prophet delivers this warning: "The losers truly will they be who shall lose their own souls, and their families on the day of Resurrection" (Sura 39, 17); and further that believers are bidden save themselves and their families from the fire (Sura 66, 6). The possibility of intercession was at the back of the Prophet's mind, but he no doubt was well aware of the forceful impression that an unqualified warning of no intercession would have on his hearers. The following further passages show more particularly the Prophet's position on the subject:

"And on the day when the hour shall arrive, the guilty shall be struck dumb for despair,

And they shall have no intercessions from among the gods whom they have joined with God, and they shall deny the gods they joined with Him" (Sura 30, 11-12);

"Warn them, then, of the approaching day, when (men's) hearts shall rise up, choking them, into their throats.

The evil doers shall have no friend or intercessor who shall prevail" (Sura 40, 18-19);

"And blessed be He for with Him is the knowledge of the Hour, and to Him shall ye be brought back.

The gods whom they call upon beside Him shall not be able to intercede for others: they only shall be able who bore witness to the truth and knew it" (Sura 43, 85-86);

"O believers! give alms of that with which we have supplied you, before the day cometh when there shall be no trafficking, nor friendship, nor intercession. And the infidels are the wrong-doers. God! there is no God but He; the Living, the Eternal; Nor slumber seizeth Him, nor sleep; His, whatsoever is in the Heavens and whatsoever is in the Earth! Who is he that can intercede with Him but by His own permission?" (Sura 2, 255-256)

VIII. The results of 'the Day' would include various joys and woes for the righteous and wicked respectively.

We read, for example, in Sura 80, 38-41:

"There shall be faces on that day radiant,

Laughing and joyous:

And faces on that day with dust upon them:

Blackness shall cover them!" (cf.Sura 75, 22-25);

also, in Sura 7, 7-8:

"The weighing on that day with justice! and they whose balances shall be heavy, these are they who shall be happy.

And they whose balances shall be light, these are they who have lost their souls, for that to our signs they were unjust";

again, in Sura 30, 14-15:

"And as for those who shall have believed and done the things that are right, they shall enjoy themselves in a flowery mead;

But as for those who shall not have believed, but treated our signs and the meeting of the next life as lies, they shall be given ~~over~~ to the torment";

further, the contrast between the righteous and the wicked on that day is most vividly portrayed in Sura 56, 26-56:

"And the people of the right hand - oh! how happy shall be the people of the right hand!

Amid thornless sidrahs
 And talh trees clad with fruit,
 And in extended shade,
 And by flowing waters,
 And with abundant fruits,
 Unfailing, unforbidden,
 And on lofty couches.

.

But the people of the left hand - oh! how wretched shall be the people of the left hand!

Amid pestilential winds and in scalding water,
 And in the shadow of a black smoke,
 Not cool, and horrid to behold.

.

Then ye, O ye the erring, the gainsaying,
 Shall surely eat of the tree Ez-zakkoum,
 And fill your bellies with it,
 And thereupon shall ye drink boiling water,
 And ye shall drink as the thirsty camel drinketh.
 This shall be their repast in the day of reckoning".

As most of the passages concerned are brought into connection with 'the garden' or 'the fire', that is, with the respective final abodes of the righteous and the wicked, it will be most convenient to tabulate the results of 'the Day' in the following detailed fashion:

- (1) As far as the righteous are concerned, the issue of the Judgment for them would be one of joy and happiness. Their abode is variously described as follows:-

(a) 1. 'The Garden' (الجنة), occurring 45 times:

Sura 2, 76; 2, 105; 2, 210; 2, 221; 3, 136; 3, 182; 4, 123; 5, 76; 7, 38; 7, 40; 7, 41; 7, 42; 7, 44; 7, 47; 7, 48; 9, 112; 10, 27; 11, 25; 11, 110; 13, 35; 16, 34; 19, 61; 19, 64; 25, 26; 26, 90; 29, 58; 36, 25; 36, 55; 39, 73; 39, 74; 40, 43; 41, 30; 42, 5;

43, 70; 43, 72; 46, 13; 46, 15; 47, 7; 47, 16; 50, 30; 59, 20²;
66, 11; 79, 41; 81, 13.

ii. 'Gardens' (جَنَّات), occurring 36 times:

Sura 2, 23; 3, 13; 3, 130; 3, 194; 3, 197; 4, 17; 4, 60; 4, 121;
5, 15; 5, 88; 5, 119; 9, 21; 9, 73; 9, 90; 9, 101; 14, 28; 15, 45;
22, 14; 22, 23; 25, 11; 44, 52; 47, 13; 48, 5; 48, 17; 51, 15;
52, 17; 54, 54; 57, 12; 58, 22; 61, 12; 64, 9; 65, 11; 66, 8; 70, 35;
74, 42; 85, 11.

iii. 'Gardens of Eden' (جَنَّاتِ عَدْنِ), occurring 11 times:

Sura 9, 73; 13, 23; 16, 33; 18, 30; 19, 62; 20, 78; 35, 30; 38, 50;
40, 8; 61, 12; 98, 7;

iv. 'The Gardens of Delight' (جَنَّاتِ النَّعِيمِ), occurring
7 times:

Sura 5, 70; 10, 9; 22, 55; 31, 7; 37, 42; 56, 12; 68, 34.

v. 'A Garden' (جَنَّة), occurring 3 times:

Sura 3, 127; 57, 21; 76, 10.

vi. 'Two Gardens' (جَنَّاتِ), occurring 3 times:

Sura 55, 46; 55, 54; 55, 62.

vii. 'A Lofty Garden' (جَنَّةٍ عَالِيَةٍ), occurring twice:

Sura 69, 22; 88, 10.

viii. 'A Garden of Delight' (جَنَّةٍ نَعِيمٍ), occurring twice:

Sura 56, 88; 70, 38.

ix. 'The Gardens' (الْجَنَّاتِ), occurring once: Sura 42, 21.

x. 'The Garden of Eternity' (جَنَّةِ الْخُلْدِ), occurring once,
Sura 25, 16.

xi. 'The Garden of Repose or Shelter' (جَنَّةِ الْمَأْوَى),
occurring once: Sura 53, 15.

xii. 'The Garden of Delight' (جَنَّةِ النَّعِيمِ), occurring once:
Sura 26, 85.

xiii. 'The Gardens of Eternal Abode or Shelter' (جَنَّاتِ الْمَأْوَى)
occurring once: Sura 32, 19.

xiv. 'My Garden' (جَنَّتِي), occurring once: Sura 89, 30.

xv. 'The Gardens of Paradise' (جَنَّاتِ الْفِرْدَوْسِ),
occurring once: Sura 18, 107.

xvi. '(The) Paradise' (الفردوس), occurring once: Sura 23, 11.

(b) i. 'The Future Abode' (الدار الآخرة), occurring 7 times:

Sura 2, 88; 6, 32; 7, 168; 28, 77; 28, 83; 29, 64; 33, 29.

ii. 'The Abode of the next (world)' (دار الآخرة), occurring twice: Sura 12, 109; 16, 32.

iii. 'The Abode of Peace' (دار السلام), occurring twice: Sura 6, 127; 10, 26.

iv. 'The Settled Abode' (دار القرار), occurring once: Sura 40, 42.

v. 'The Abiding Abode' (دار المقامة), occurring once: Sura 35, 32.

(c) i. 'Pavilions' (غرف), occurring 3 times: Sura 29, 58; 39, 21².

ii. 'The Pavilions' (الغرفات), occurring once: Sura 34, 36.

iii. 'The Pavilion' (الغرفة), occurring once: Sura 25, 75.

(d) i. 'Illiyun^x' (عليون), occurring twice: Sura 83, 18; 83, 19.

The inmates of the blessed abode are themselves variously described, the most common descriptions being -

(a) 'they who have believed and done the things that be right' e.g. Sura 2, 23; 2, 76; 4, 60; 4, 121; 7, 40; 10, 9; 14, 28; 18, 107; 22, 14; 22, 23; 22, 55; 29, 58; 31, 7; 32, 19; 42, 21; 47, 13; 85, 11; 98, 6-7; and

(b) 'they who fear (Allah)', e.g. Sura 3, 13; 3, 127; 3, 197; 6, 32; 7, 168; 12, 109; 13, 35; 15, 45; 16, 32; 16, 33; 25, 16; 26, 90; 38, 49-50; 39, 21; 39, 73; 44, 51-52; 47, 16; 50, 30; 51, 15; 52, 17; 54, 54; 68, 34.

The following are occasional descriptions: "Those who led the way, the first of the Mohadjers, and the Ansars, and those who have followed their noble conduct" (Sura 9, 101); "They who have fled their country and quitted their homes and suffered in my cause, and have fought and fallen" (Sura 3, 194); "They who have believed, and

^x A name of the (lofty) apartments of Paradise, transferred to the register of the righteous.

fled their homes, and striven with their substance and with their persons on the path of God" (Sura 9, 20-21); "Men of insight who fulfil their pledge to God, and break not their compact; and who join together what God hath bidden to be joined, and who fear their Lord, and dread an ill-reckoning; And who, from desire to see the face of their Lord, are constant amid trials, and observe prayer and give alms, in secret and openly, out of what we have bestowed upon them, and turn aside evil by good together with the just of their fathers, and their wives, and their descendants" (Sura 13, 19-23); " the prayerful,

Who are ever constant at their prayers;
And of whose substance there is a due and stated portion
For him who asketh, and for him who is ashamed to beg;
And who own the judgment-day a truth,
And who thrill with dread at the chastisement of their Lord -
. ,
And who control their desires,
.
And who are true to their trusts and their engagements,
And who witness uprightly,
And who keep strictly (the hours of) prayer" (Sura 70, 22-34).

That the inmates include women as well as men the following passages make clear:

"But whoso doth the things that are right, whether male or female, and he or she a believer, - these shall enter Paradise" (Sura 4, 123; cf.40, 43); "To the faithful, both men and women, God promiseth Gardens" (Sura 9, 73; cf.48, 5);

"O my servants! on this day shall no fear come upon you, neither shall ye be put to grief,

Who have believed in our signs and become Muslims:
Enter ye and your wives into Paradise delighted" (Sura 43, 68-70).

The condition of the inmates is also variously described:

(a) They enter gardens "beneath which the rivers flow; for ever

shall they abide therein"^x, e.g., Sura 3, 130; 3, 197; 4, 17; 4, 121; 5, 88; 9, 73; 9, 90; 14, 28; 20, 78; 29, 58; 48, 5; 64, 9; 65, 11; 98, 7.

(b) They receive pardon from their Lord, cf. Sura 3, 130; 3, 194; 5, 70; 48, 5; 61, 12; 64, 9.

(c) They have all they wish for, cf. Sura 16, 33; 25, 16-17; 36, 57; 42, 21; 43, 71:

i. with regard to restful repose -

'raised couches' (Sura 88, 13),

'lofty couches' (Sura 56, 33),

'inwrought couches, reclining on them face to face' (56, 15-16),

'cushions laid in order' (88, 15),

'carpets spread forth' (88, 16),

'bridal couches' (76, 13; 83, 23; 18, 30),

'couches with linings of brocade' (55, 54),

'shades, on bridal couches reclining' (36, 56),

'thornless sidrahs and talh trees clad with fruit',

'extended shade', 'flowing waters', (56, 27-30),

'no fear shall be upon you, neither shall ye be put to grief' (7, 47),

'no toil shall reach us, and no weariness shall touch us' (35, 32),

'no vain discourse shalt thou hear' (88, 11),

'they shall wish for no change from it' (18, 108).

ii. with regard to raiment -

'golden bracelets' (Sura 18, 30; 22, 23; 35, 30),

'silver bracelets' (76, 21),

'pearls' (22, 23; 35, 30),

'silk raiment' (22, 23; 35, 30),

'silken robes' (76, 12),

'green silk robes and rich brocade (76, 21, cf. 18, 30),

'silk and richest robes' (44, 53).

^x In Sura 11, 110, the expression used is - "Therein shall they abide while the Heavens and the Earth endure".

iii. with regard to food and drink -

'rivers of water, which corrupt not:

rivers of milk, whose taste changeth not: and

rivers of wine, delicious to those who quaff it; and

rivers of honey clarified: and all kinds of fruit'

(Sura 47, 16-17),

'fruit' (2, 23),

'fruits' (37, 41),

'the fruit of the two gardens within easy reach' (55, 54),

'such fruits as shall please them best' (56, 20),

'abundant fruits, unailing, unforbidden' (56, 31-32),

'fruits in abundance, and flesh as they shall desire'

(52, 22),

'flesh of such birds as they shall long for' (56, 21),

'dishes and bowls of gold' (43, 71),

'choice sealed wine' (83, 25),

'goblets and ewers and a cup of flowing wine,

their brows ache not from it, nor fails the sense'

(56, 18-19),

'a wine cup tempered at the camphor fountain' (76, 5),

'a cup from a fountain, limpid, delicious to those who
drink; it shall not oppress the sense, nor shall they
therewith be drunken' (37, 44-46),

'vessels of silver and goblets like flagons

flagons of silver whose measure themselves shall

mete the cup tempered with zendjebil from the

fount therein whose name is Selsebil' (76, 15-18).

iv. with regard to companionship -

'your spouses' (Sura 43, 70),

'their spouses' (36, 56),

'the just of their fathers, and their wives, and their
descendants' (13, 23; 40, 8),

'wives of (perfect) purity' (2, 23; 3, 13; 4, 60),

'virgins, dear to their spouses, of equal age' (56, 35-36),

'(virgins) of their own age, with modest retiring glances'
(38, 52),

'the large-eyed ones with modest refraining glances' (37, 47),

'the damsels with retiring glances' (55, 56),

'the (virgins) with large dark eyes' (44, 54; 52, 20),

'the Houris with large dark eyes' (56, 22),

'the fair, the beautiful ones with large dark eye-
balls, kept close in their pavilions' (55, 70-72).

(d) They are within sight and call of the inmates of the fire:

"And the inmates of the fire shall cry to the inmates of Paradise,
'Pour upon us some water, or of the refreshments God hath given you?
They shall say, 'Truly God hath forbidden both to unbelievers, who
made their religion a sport and pastime, and whom the life of the
world hath deceived'" (Sura 7, 48-49);

"And they shall address one another with mutual questions. Saith
one of them, 'I truly had a bosom friend,
Who said, Art thou of those who credit it?
What! when we shall have died, and become dust and bones,
shall we indeed be judged?'

He shall say (to those around him), 'Will ye look?'

And he shall look, and see him in the midst of Hell.

And he shall say to him, 'By God, thou hadst almost caused me to
perish;

And, but for the favour of my Lord, I had surely been of those
who have been brought (with thee into torment)'" (Sura 37, 48-55);

"Therefore, on that day the faithful shall laugh the infidels to
scorn,

As reclining on bridal couches they behold them" (Sura 83, 34-35).

(b) Finally, there are indications of rank among them. In
Sura 56, a distinction is drawn between 'the people of the right
hand' (أصحاب اليمين v.8 or أصحاب الميمنة v.26 and 89) and
'the foremost' or 'the preceders' (السابقون v.10),^x who are also

^xcf. H. Hirschfeld's 'New Researches into the Composition and Exegesis
of the Quran', London, 1902, p.57;

"vv.10-25 from an independent address belonging to the same period,
and were inserted here for some reason unknown to us".

named 'they who shall be brought nigh to God' (المقربون vv.11 and 87, also Sura 83, 28), but it is not clear who the latter are, nor is their felicity (vv.11-25) in any respect greater than that of the former. It is significant however that in Sura 4, 97-98, we read: "God hath assigned to those who contend earnestly with their persons and with their substance a rank above those who sit at home. Goodly promises hath He made to all. But God hath assigned to the strenuous a rich recompense, above those who sit still at home, rank of his own bestowal, and forgiveness, and mercy; for God is indulgent, merciful".

Moreover there is a reference in Sura 4, 170 to "the angels who are nigh unto Him" (المقربون); and in Sura 3, 40 Jesus is spoken of as "one of those who have near access to God" (من المقربين).

(2) While the issue of the Judgment would thus be one of joy and happiness for the righteous, the issue of it for the wicked would be one of sorrow and misery.

(a) Their abode is referred to most commonly as

1. 'The Fire' (النار), occurring 99 times: Sura 2, 22; 2, 37; 2, 74; 2, 75; 2, 120; 2, 162; 2, 169; 2, 170; 2, 197; 2, 214; 2, 221; 2, 259; 2, 276; 3, 8; 3, 14; 3, 23; 3, 99; 3, 112; 3, 126; 3, 144; 3, 182; 3, 188; 3, 189; 4, 144; 5, 32; 5, 41; 5, 76; 6, 27; 6, 128; 7, 34; 7, 36²; 7, 42; 7, 45; 7, 48; 8, 14; 9, 17; 10, 8; 10, 28; 11, 19; 11, 20; 11, 100; 11, 108; 11, 115; 13, 6; 13, 35; 14, 35; 14, 51; 16, 64; 18, 51; 21, 40; 22, 71; 23, 106; 24, 56; 27; 92; 28, 41; 29, 24; 32, 20²; 33, 66; 34, 41; 38, 26; 38, 59; 38, 61; 38, 64; 39, 11; 39, 18; 39, 20; 40, 6; 40, 44; 40, 46; 40, 49; 40, 50²; 40, 52; 40, 73; 41, 18; 41, 23; 41, 28; 41, 40; 45, 33; 46, 19; 46, 33; 47, 13; 47, 17; 51, 13; 52, 14; 54, 48; 57, 14; 58, 18; 59, 3; 59, 17; 59, 20; 64, 10; 66, 10; 74, 31; 85, 5; 87, 12; 104, 6.

ii. 'A fire' (نار) occurs 12 times: Sura 4, 11; 4, 18;

4, 34; 4, 59; 22, 20; 66, 6; 71, 25; 88, 4; 90, 20; 92, 14; 101, 8; 111, 3.

(b) 1. The name 'Jahannam' (جهنم) is also common, occurring 68 times: Sura 2, 202; 3, 10; 3, 156; 3, 196; 4, 58; 4, 95; 4, 99; 4, 115; 4, 120; 4, 139; 4, 167; 7, 17; 7, 39; 7, 178; 8, 16; 8, 37; 8, 38; 9, 49; 9, 74; 9, 96; 11, 120; 13, 18; 14, 19; 14, 34; 15, 43; 16, 31; 17, 8; 17, 19; 17, 41; 17, 65; 17, 99; 18, 100; 18, 102; 18, 106; 19, 69; 19, 89; 20, 76; 21, 30; 21, 98; 23, 105; 25, 36; 25, 66; 29, 54; 29, 68; 32, 13; 36, 63; 38, 56; 38, 85; 39, 33; 39, 61; 39, 71; 39, 72; 40, 52; 40, 62; 40, 76; 43, 74; 45, 9; 48, 6; 50, 23; 50, 29; 55, 43; 58, 9; 66, 9; 67, 6; 72, 15; 78, 21; 85, 10; 89, 24.

ii. 'The Fire of Jahannam' (نار جهنم) occurs 9 times: Sura 9, 35; 9, 64; 9, 69; 9, 82; 9, 110; 35, 33; 52, 13; 72, 24; 98, 5.

(c) The following names occur less frequently:-

i a. 'The ardent or glowing fire' (الجحيم), 23 times: Sura 2, 113; 5, 13; 5, 88; 9, 114; 22, 50; 26, 91; 37, 23; 37, 53; 37, 62; 37, 66; 37, 95; 37, 163; 40, 7; 44, 47; 44, 56; 52, 18; 57, 18; 69, 31; 79, 36; 79, 39; 81, 12; 85, 16; 102, 6.

b. 'An ardent fire' (جحيم) 3 times: Sura 56, 94; 73, 12; 82, 14.

ii. a. 'The Flame' or 'The flaming Fire' (السعير), 8 times: Sura 22, 4; 31, 20; 34, 11; 35, 6; 42, 5; 67, 5; 67, 10; 67, 11.

b. 'A Flame' or 'a flaming Fire' (سعير), 8 times: Sura 4, 11; 4, 58; 17, 99; 25, 12; 33, 64; 48, 13; 76, 4; 84, 12.

iii. 'The Burning' (الحريق), 5 times: Sura 3, 177; 8, 52; 22, 9; 22, 22; 85, 10.

iv. 'Scorching Fire' (سقر), 4 times: Sura 54, 48; 74, 26; 74, 27; 74, 43.

v. 'The Crushing Fire' (الحطمة), twice: Sura 104, 4; 104, 5.

vi. 'Blazing Fire' (لظى), once: Sura 70, 15.

- vii. 'Pit' or 'Abyss' (*هاوية*), once: Sura 101, 6.
 viii. 'The Abode of Perdition' (*دار البوار*), once: Sura 14, 33.
 ix. 'The Abode of Eternity' (*دار الخلد*), once: Sura 41, 28.
 x. 'Sijjin'^x (*سجين*), twice: Sura 83, 7; 83, 8.

The inmates of the wretched abode are variously described, the most common description being 'infidels' or 'unbelievers', for example, Sura 2, 22; 2, 37; 2, 259; 3, 8; 3, 10; 3, 112; 3, 126; 3, 144; 3, 196; 4, 166-167; 5, 13; 5, 40-41; 5, 88; 8, 14; 8, 37; 8, 52; 9, 49; 13, 6; 13, 35; 17, 8; 18, 100; 18, 102; 21, 40; 22, 20; 22, 71; 24, 56; 29, 54; 29, 68; 33, 64; 35, 33; 38, 26; 39, 33; 39, 71; 40, 6; 46, 19; 46, 33; 47, 13; 48, 13; 57, 14; 57, 18; 64, 10; 66, 10; 67, 6; 76, 4; 98, 5.

Occasionally 'hypocrites' are conjoined with 'unbelievers', e.g., Sura 4, 139; 9, 69; 9, 74; 66, 9.

Other descriptions are as follows:-

(a) 'Those who commit evil', e.g., Sura 2, 75; 3, 189; 4, 166-167; 5, 32; 8, 38; 10, 28; 18, 51; 19, 89; 20, 76; 27, 92; 32, 20²; 34, 41; 38, 55-56; 40, 46; 43, 74; 44, 44-47; 54, 47-48; 55, 43; 59, 17; 78, 21-22; 82, 14.

(b) 'Those who join other gods with Allah', e.g., Sura 5, 76; 9, 17; 9, 114; 48, 6; cf. also Sura 14, 35; 17, 41; 39, 11; 45, 9.

(c) 'Those who charge our signs with falsehood', or 'disbelieve' them, or 'gainsay' them, or 'strive to invalidate' them, e.g., Sura 2, 37; 4, 59; 5, 13; 5, 88; 7, 34; 22, 50; 25, 12; 32, 20²; 34, 41; 41, 28; 52, 14; 57, 18; 64, 10; 73, 12; 90, 19-20;

(d) 'Many Jinn and men', or 'Iblis' and his followers, or men and 'the Satans', e.g., Sura 6, 128; 7, 17; 7, 36²; 7, 178; 11, 120; 17, 65; 19, 69; 32, 13; 34, 11; 35, 6; 38, 85; 67, 5.

In addition, the following descriptions are occasionally found:-

'He who shall have his book given into his left hand' (Sura 69, 25^{ff}; cf. 84, 10^{ff});

'the people of the left' (Sura 90, 19^f; cf. 56, 9; 56, 40);

^x The prison in Hell which gives its name to the register of actions kept there.

'they whose balances shall be light' (23, 105; cf.101, 6);
 'the covetous' (cf.Sura 102; 104; 70, 15-18);
 'those who neglect prayers and alms (cf.74, 44-45);
 'the opposers of the Prophet' (cf.2, 200-202; 74, 26; 104; 111, 3);
 'those who rebel against Allah and His Apostle'(4, 18; 9, 64;
 72, 24);
 'usurers' (cf.2, 276); ~~the~~ who kills a believer of set purpose~~†~~
 (4, 95); ~~the~~ who turns his back in battle~~†~~ (8, 16).

The condition of the inmates is also variously described:

(a) "Most frequently is it stated that they shall remain in the wretched abode for ever,^x e.g., Sura 2, 37; 2, 75; 2, 214; 2, 259; 2, 276; 3, 112; 4, 18; 4, 95; 4, 167^{*†}; 7, 34; 9, 17; 9, 64; 9, 69; 10, 28; 13, 6; 16, 31; 23, 105; 33, 64^{f*}; 39, 72; 40, 76; 43, 74; 58, 18; 59, 17; 64, 10; 72, 24^{*†}; 98, 5; in the same strain we read in Sura 2, 162: "forth from the Fire they come not", cf.Sura 5, 41. Once the expression 'eternal abode' ^o is found, Sura 41, 28. In two passages the possibility of remission of punishment is evidently contemplated: "'Your abode the Fire! therein abide ye for ever: unless as God shall will'" (Sura 6, 128), and "Therein shall they abide while the Heavens and the Earth shall last, unless thy Lord shall will it otherwise" (Sura 11, 109), but it is perhaps significant that these two passages do not belong to the Medinan period of the Prophet's activity.^e In one other passage - of the Meccan period ^φ - where in exceptional fashion believers as well as unbelievers are said to go down to Hell, the fearers of Allah are to be delivered therefrom while the wicked are to be left therein: "No one is there of you who shall not go down unto it - this is a settled decree with thy Lord - Then will we deliver

^xThe usual Arabic expression is خالدون فيها هم فيها خالدون

^{*}In these three cases أبدان is added.

^o دار الخلد = دار الخلد; cf. 'The Garden of Eternity' (جنة الخلد) in Sura 25, 16, for Paradise.

^eT.Nöldeke places them in the 3rd section of the Meccan period. cf. *Geschichte des Korans*, 2^{te} Aufl., 1^{ter} Teil, Leipzig, 1909. §.ix-x.

^φT.Nöldeke places this in the 2nd section of the Meccan period.

those who had the fear of God, and the wicked will we leave in it on their knees" (Sura 19, 72-73).

(b) The journey ~~to~~ its torment is described as 'an ill passage' or 'a wretched journey', cf. Sura 2, 120; 4, 99; 4, 115; 8, 16; 9, 74; 22, 71; 24, 56; 48, 6; 58, 9; 64, 10; 66, 9; 67, 6; while the abode itself is spoken of as 'a wretched couch' or 'bed' or 'dwelling', cf. Sura 2, 202; 3, 10; 3, 196; 13, 18; 14, 34; 16, 31; 25, 66; 38, 56; 39, 72; 40, 76.

(c) They will have none to help them, cf. Sura 3, 189; 4, 144; 5, 76; 21, 40; 29, 24; 33, 64^f; 45, 33.

(d) To be burned in the Fire is their fate, e.g., Sura 3, 8; 4, 11; 14, 34; 17, 19; 38, 56; 38, 59; 40, 73; 56, 94; 58, 9; 69, 31; 72, 15; 83, 16; 84, 12; 88, 4; 111, 3; also 2, 22; 21, 98; 66, 6 where the objects of worship partake of the same fate.

(e) The various elements of their torment are as follows:-

i. Chains and collars and flaming fire,

Sura 76, 4; cf. 13, 6; 40, 73; 73, 12;

garments of pitch, Sura 14, 51; cf. 22, 20.

ii. As they have been flung downwards on their faces, their faces will be enwrapped, rolled, and scorched in the fire, cf. Sura 14, 51; 23, 106; 33, 66.

iii. Boiling water will be not only poured on their heads but also forced down their throats, cf. Sura 22, 20; 44, 48; 47, 17;

tainted water will also be forced upon them, which they will scarcely swallow for loathing, Sura 14, 19^f; fire even will be swallowed, Sura 2, 169; 4, 11; and gore ~~or~~ filthy corruption, Sura 38, 57; 78, 25; the tree, Ez-zaqqum, too, which comes up from the bottom of Hell, will provide foul food for them, Sura 37, 60, 62-64; 56, 51-53; 44, 43-46.

iv. Fire will be rekindled as often as it dies down, Sura 17, 99;

burnt skins will be changed into fresh ones, Sura 4, 59;
 the inmates will neither die nor live, Sura 20, 76; 87, 12-
 13; "to die shall never be decreed them, nor shall aught of
 its torment be made light to them", Sura 35, 33.

(f) In the midst of these torments the inmates are full of
 remorse, and desire to return and amend on earth, blaming those
 who seduced them:

"And they shall be cast into it - the seducers and the seduced,
 And all the host of Eblis.

They shall say, as they wrangle therein together,

'By God, we were in a plain error,

When we equalled you with the Lord of the Worlds:

And none misled us but the wicked,

And we have none to plead for us,

Nor friend who careth for us.

Could we but return, we would be of the believers' " (Sura 26,
 94-102); "Oh! would we might be sent back! we would not treat
 the signs of our Lord as lies! we would be of the believers" (Sura
 6, 27); " . . . 'Oh! would that we had obeyed God, and obeyed
 the Apostle!' . . . 'Oh! Our Lord! indeed we obeyed our chiefs and
 our great ones, and they misled us from the way (of God -). O our
 Lord! give them a double chastisement, and curse them with a heavy
 curse' "(Sura 33, 66-68); " . . . 'O our Lord! increase twofold
 in the fire the punishment of him who hath brought this upon us'"
 (Sura 38, 61); "He shall say, 'Enter ye into the Fire with the
 generations of Djinn and men who have preceded you. So oft as a
 fresh generation entereth, it shall curse its sister, until when
 they have all reached it, the last comers shall say to the former,
 "O our Lord! these are they who led us astray: assign them there-
 fore a double torment of the fire'." He shall say 'ye shall all
 have double'" (Sura 7, 36).

(g) The inmates implore relief

- i. from those in Paradise: "And the inmates of the fire shall cry to the inmates of Paradise: 'Pour upon us some water, or of the refreshments God hath given you'. They shall say, 'Truly God hath forbidden both to unbelievers, who made their religion a sport and pastime, and whom the life of the world hath deceived' " (Sura 7, 48-49);
- ii. from the keepers of Hell: "And they who are in the fire shall say to the keepers of Hell, 'Implore your Lord that he would give us ease but for one day from this torment'. They shall say, 'Came not your apostles to you with the tokens?' They shall say, 'Yes'. They shall say, 'Cry ye then aloud (for help)': but the cry of the unbelievers shall be only in vain" (Sura 40, 52-53; cf. 39, 71).

These keepers of Hell are evidently the "angels, fierce and mighty" (Sura 66, 6), nineteen in number (Sura 74, 30), who guard its "seven portals" (Sura 15, 44). One of them is referred to by name in Sura 43, 77: "And they shall cry, 'O Malec! would that thy Lord would make an end of us!' He saith, 'Here must ye remain'".

(h) Finally, there would seem to be slight traces of different gradations of punishment: "Doubled to him (i.e., the fornicator) shall be the torment on the day of Resurrection; and in it shall he remain, disgraced, for ever: - " (Sura 25, 69);

" 'Ye shall all have double'" (i.e., the successive generations of Jinn and men) (Sura 7, 36);

" Even thus place we some of the wicked (i.e., of Jinn and men) over others, as the meed of their doings" (Sura 6, 129); cf. 33, 66-68; 38, 61.

That these joys and woes have a material environment and are not apart from the earth and the body appears in a passage like Sura 11, 107-110: "When that day shall come no one shall speak a word but by His leave, and some shall be miserable and others blessed. And as for those who shall be consigned to misery - their place the Fire! therein shall they sigh and bemoan them -

Therein shall they abide while the Heavens and the Earth shall last, unless thy Lord shall will it otherwise; verily thy Lord doth what He chooseth. And as for the blessed ones - their place the Garden! therein shall they abide while the heavens and the Earth endure, with whatever imperishable boon thy Lord may please to add.

At the same time we recall that the Last Judgment ushers in an altogether transformed earth (cf. p. ¹⁵~~13~~ supra).

Second Part. The main outlines of the Prophet's idea of the Last Judgment
Introduction. are now before us. Presumably for the conception of it as thus outlined Muhammad was dependent on Jewish and Christian sources. Many of the details, as we shall see, can be paralleled^{led} in Apocalyptic literature. It is improbable, however, that he was in direct touch with that literature himself. His source of information was more probably Jewish or Christian informants, who passed on orally to him eschatological material, which made a deep impression upon his own mind and found expression in his Qur'anic warnings and admonitions. Originally this Apocalyptic literature was Jewish, but it was Christianity rather than Judaism that preserved and developed it. The Prophet, having thus come into contact with the idea of the Last Judgment, with all its accessories, presumably from some oral source - Jewish or Christian - used for the enforcement of his message all the imagery of Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic and Eschatology.

Our purpose then in this second part of our subject is to show by comparison the indirect correspondences between Muhammad's conception and that of Apocalyptic literature and thus to reveal his dependence on the latter. We shall find at the same time that the Prophet's descriptive material contains elements that are paralleled in Biblical, Apocryphal and Rabbinical literature; certain individual traits, we shall see, are ultimately of Persian, Greek, and Egyptian origin.

visions of the eschatological material In pursuing this aim it will be conducive to clearness if we consider the Prophet's eschatological material now before us under the following heads:

- I. Resurrection.
- II. Judgment.
- III. Paradise.
- IV. Hell.

I. Resurrection.

With regard to the general nature of the Last Judgment, the

main presupposition in the Prophet's mind was a resurrection of all mankind from the dead - an idea that was completely foreign to the pagan Arabs and which, when first proclaimed in their presence met with unqualified ridicule.

"Shall we indeed be restored as at first?

What! when we have become rotten bones?" (Sura 79, 10-11);

"What! when dead, and turned to dust and bones, shall we indeed be raised?

Our sires also of olden times?" (Sura 37, 16-17);

"There is but our first death, neither shall we be raised again:

Bring back our sires, if ye be men of truth" (Sura 44, 34-35).

Two main arguments the Prophet used to make clear the possibility of a quickening of the dead:

(a) the revivifying of plants in nature -

"And thou hast seen the earth dried up and barren: but when we send down the rain upon it, it stirreth and swelleth, and groweth every kind of luxuriant herb. This, for that God is the Truth, and that it is He who quickeneth the dead, and that He hath power over everything: And that 'the Hour' will indeed come - there is no doubt of it - and that God will wake up to life those who are in the tombs" (Sura 22, 5^b - 7);

"He bringeth forth the living out of the dead, and He bringeth forth the dead out of the living: and He quickeneth the earth when dead. Thus it is that ye too shall be brought forth" (Sura 30, 18);

Look then at the traces of God's mercy - how after its death he quickeneth the earth! This same God will surely quicken the dead, for to all things His might is equal" (Sura 30, 49);

(b) the wonderful origin of man -

"O men! if ye doubt as to the Resurrection, yet of a truth have we created you of dust, then of the moist germs of life, then of clots of blood, then of pieces of flesh shapen and unshapen, that we might give

you proofs (of our power)! And we ~~cau~~se (one sex or the other), at our pleasure, to abide in the womb until the appointed time; then we bring you forth infants; then permit you to reach your age of strength; and one of you dieth, and another of you liveth on to an age so abject that all his former knowledge is clean forgotten!" (Sura 22, 5^a);

"Now of fine clay have we created man: Then we placed him, a moist germ, in a safe abode; then made we the moist germ a clot of blood: then made the clotted blood into a piece of flesh; then made the piece of flesh into bones; and we clothed the bones with flesh: then brought forth man of yet another make - Blessed therefore be God, the most excellent of Makers - Then after this ye shall surely die: Then shall ye be waked up, on the day of Resurrection" (Sura 23, 12-16);

"Thinketh man that we shall not re-unite his bones? Aye! his very finger tips are we able evenly to replace?" "Was he not a mere embryo? Then he became thick blood of which God formed him and fashioned him; and made him twain, male and female. Is not He powerful enough to quicken the dead?" (Sura 75, 3-4, 37-40);

"Of what thing did God create him?

Out of moist germs.

He created him and fashioned him,

Then made him an easy passage (from the womb),

Then causeth him to die and burieth him;

Then, when he pleaseth, will raise him again to life"

(Sura 80, 17-22).

We are reminded here of the description in Job 10, 10-11:^{*}

"Hast thou not poured me out as milk,

And curdled me like cheese?

Thou hast clothed me with skin and flesh,

And knit me together with bones and sinews",

^{*} Revised Version.

and in Pirge Aboth 3, 1^X:

"Reflect upon three things, Whence thou camest:-
from a putrefying drop; whither thou art going:- to a
place of dust, worms, and maggots; and before whom thou wilt
in future have to give account and reckoning:- before the
Supreme King of Kings, the Holy One, blessed be he".

The first argument reminds us of Paul's argument for the
resurrection in I Cor.15, 35 ff.: "That which thou thyself sowest
is not quickened, except it die : so also is the re-
surrection of the dead", and of the similar argument of the Rabbis
in Sanhedrin 91a: ^{# X} R.Meir said, in answer to Queen Cleopatra, "If
a corn of wheat, which is buried naked, comes forth clothed, how
much more the righteous, who are buried with their clothing" (i.e.
presumably with their bodies).

The second argument - that based on the wonderful origin of
men - is the argument found in II Macc.7, 22-23, where the mother
of the seven sons who perished in one day says: "I know not how ye
came into my womb, neither was it I that bestowed on you your spirit
and your life, and it was not I that brought into order the first
elements of each one of you. Therefore the Creator of the world,
who fashioned the generation of man and devised the generation of
all things, in mercy giveth back to you again both your spirit and
your life, as ye now contemn your own selves for his laws' sake."
The Rabbis similarly argue in Sanhedrin 91a^X: "The Emperor said to
R.Gamaliel: You say that the dead become alive. But they become
dust, and how can dust live? Then spake his daughter to him:
Leave him and I will answer him: There are two potters in our town.
The one makes (jars) out of water and the other makes (them) out of
clay. Which of them is to be commended the more? He answered, He

^Xcf.Lazarus Goldschmidt, Der babylonische Talmud, Band 7, (Berlin
1903).

~~#cf.Lazarus Goldschmidt, Der babylonische Talmud, Band 7, (Berlin
1903).~~

who makes them out of water. She replied, He (i.e. God) forms (man) out of water, how much more then out of clay?"^x

With regard to the condition of the dead before the Resurrection the Prophet had little or nothing to say. The idea of an intermediate state never entered his mind.^x The period between death and resurrection was presumably thought of as a period simply of sleep or stupor:

"And that 'the Hour' will indeed come - there is no doubt of it - and that God will wake up to life those who are in the tombs" (Sura 22, 7); "And the stupor of certain death cometh upon him: - 'This is what thou wouldst have shunned' - And there shall be a blast on the trumpet, - it is the threatened day!" (Sura 50, 18-19).

Not the period before the Resurrection; but the Resurrection itself as the presupposition of the Last Judgment was uppermost in the Prophets mind. In his view the Resurrection was an awakening and raising of all mankind from the dead:

"On that day shall men come forward in throngs
to behold their works,

And whosoever shall have wrought an atom's weight
of good shall behold it,

And whosoever shall have wrought an atom's weight of
evil shall behold it" (Sura 99, 6-8);

"Ah! knoweth he not, that when that which is in the
graves shall be laid bare,

And that which is in men's breasts shall be brought forth,
Verily their Lord shall on that day be informed concerning
them?" (Sura 100, 9-11);

"And the trumpet shall be blown, and, lo! they shall speed
out of their sepulchres to their Lord:

They shall say, 'Oh! woe to us! who hath roused us from our

^x cf. Der Islam, von C.H. Becker, Bd. 5, Strassburg, 1914, s. 54 ff.:
art. Der Beweis für die Auferstehung im Koran, von Edv.
Lehmann und Johs. Pedersen.

^x cf. The Moslem World, ed. by S.M. Zwemer, vol. 12, New York, 1922:
pp. 348 ff.: art. The Resurrection and the Judgment in the Koran,
by D. Galloway.

sleeping place? 'Tis what the God of Mercy promised; and the Apostles spake the truth? But one blast shall there be, and, lo! they shall be assembled before us, all together" (Sura 36, 51-53); "And list for the day whereon the crier shall cry from a place near to every one alike:

The day on which men shall in truth hear that shout will be the day of their coming forth (from the grave).

Verily, we cause to live, and we cause to die. To us shall all return.

On the day when the earth shall swiftly cleave asunder over the (dead), will this gathering be easy to us" (Sura 50, 40-43).

This view of the Prophet of a general Resurrection of all mankind finds expression in Apocalyptic literature, in II Baruch, 49, 2-3; 50, 1-4, where Baruch is represented as asking God - "In what shape will those live who live in thy day? or how will the splendour of those who (are) after that time continue? Will they then resume this form of the present and put on these entrammelling members, which are now involved in evils, and in which evils are consummated, or wilt thou perchance change these things which have been in the world, as also the world?" To these questions God replies: "Hear, Baruch, this word, and write in the remembrance of thy heart all that thou shalt learn. For the earth shall then assuredly restore the dead, (which it now receives, in order to preserve them). It shall make no change in their form, but, as it has received, so shall it restore them, and as I delivered them unto it, so also shall it raise them. For then it will be necessary to show to the living that the dead have come to life again, and that those who had departed have returned (again). And it shall come to pass, when they have severally recognized those whom they now know, then judgment shall grow strong, and those things which before were spoken of shall come".^x The same view appears in IV

^x cf. R.H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, vol. 2, Oxford, 1913; also R.H. Charles, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life*, 2nd ed., London, 1913, p. 534.

Ezra 7, 32-37: "And the earth shall restore those that sleep in her, and the dust those that are at rest therein, (And the chambers shall restore those that were committed unto them). And the Most High shall be revealed upon the throne of judgment: (and then cometh the End) and compassion shall pass away, (and pity be far off), and longsuffering withdrawn; but judgment alone shall remain, truth shall stand, and faithfulness triumph. And recompense shall follow, and the reward be made manifest; deeds of righteousness shall awake and deeds of iniquity shall not sleep. And then shall the pit of torment appear and over against it the place of refreshment; the furnace of Gehenna shall be made manifest, and over against it the Paradise of delight. And then shall the Most High say to the nations that have been raised (from the dead): Look now and consider whom ye have denied, whom ye have not served, whose commandments ye have despised."^x This is not the only nor the earliest view of the Resurrection found in Apocalyptic literature, but it is significant that Muhammad's view corresponds with one of the views current in Judaism. The exceptional New Testament passage, viz., St. John 5, 28 f., has the same view of a general resurrection: "Marvel not at this; for the hour cometh, in which all that are in the tombs shall hear his voice, and shall come forth: they that have done good, unto the Resurrection of life; and they that have done ill, unto the Resurrection of Judgment".

II. Judgment.

On this basis of a general Resurrection of all mankind from the dead, Muhammad built up his whole conception of the Judgment. His scheme, for our purpose, may be treated as follows:-

- (a) The dramatic character of the Judgment,
- (b) The duration of the Judgment, and

x

Except where otherwise stated, the references to Apocalyptic literature are taken from -
 R.H. Charles, The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, vol. 2, Oxford, 1913.

(c) The underlying principles of the Judgment.

(a) Its dramatic character appears in the inevitableness and suddenness of its approach and in its catastrophic accompaniments.

Such expressions on the Prophet's Lips as 'it is fixed' (Sura 78, 17), 'there is no doubt of it' (Sura 4, 89; 40, 61; 42, 5; 45, 25), 'there is not a doubt of its coming' (Sura 3, 7), 'none can hinder God from bringing it on' (Sura 30, 42), 'not for an hour shall ye retard it or hasten it on' (Sura 34, 29), 'not otherwise than on a sudden will it come' (Sura 7, 186; cf. 6, 31; 22, 54; 43, 66), 'it draweth nigh already, and yet none but God can reveal its time' (Sura 53, 58; cf. 40, 18; 77, 7; 78, 40) - all these show how inevitable and sudden and near was the Judgment in the Prophet's mind.

That the Judgment must come and come soon is a common idea in Apocalyptic literature, as the following passages show: - " . . . For the day has drawn nigh that they should be saved" (I Enoch 51, 2); " And I will give thee commandment regarding the method of the times; for they are coming and tarry not" (II Baruch 20, 6); " also that the consummation which the most High will make is very nigh, and His mercy that is coming, and the consummation of His judgment is by no means far off" (II Baruch 82, 2); "For the Most High will assuredly hasten His times, and He will assuredly bring on His hours: " "Let none therefore of these present things ascend into your hearts, but above all let us be expectant, because that which is promised to us shall come" (II Baruch 83, 1, 4); "Therefore my judgment is now nigh at hand" (IV Ezra 8, 61).

The accompaniments of the Judgment also reveal in no uncertain manner its dramatic character and find in many cases parallels in the general eschatological scheme of Apocalyptic literature. "Every woman that hath a burden in her womb shall cast her burden" (Sura 22, 2) is paralleled by "Pregnant women shall bring forth untimely births

at three or four months" (IV Ezra 6, 21). "There shall be a blast on the trumpet" (Sura 50, 19 = 20, 102; 78, 18, etc.) is paralleled by "And the trumpet shall sound aloud" (IV Ezra 6, 23), i.e., the trumpet the blowing of which ushers in the Last Judgment. In the Sibylline Books IV, 173-174, the trumpet-blast ushers in the final world-conflagration, followed by the Resurrection and Judgment:

"Fire shall come upon the whole world, and a mighty sign with sword and trumpet at the rising of the sun." In I Cor.15, 52: "For the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised", and in I Thess. 4, 16: "For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God, and the dead in Christ shall rise first", the trumpet-blast is associated with the awakening of the dead to take their part with the living in the Judgment. Further in St.Matt.24, 31, the trumpet-blast is associated with the coming of the Son of Man in power and glory to gather his elect: "And he shall send forth his angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other".

Again, "we will bring forth to every man a book (i.e., the book recording his deeds) which shall be proffered to him wide open" (Sura 17, 14; cf.39, 69; 18, 47; 45, 27-28) finds a parallel in "The books shall be opened before the face of the firmament" (IV Ezra 6, 20) and in "The Judgment was set, and the books (i.e., the books wherein presumably both good and evil deeds were recorded) were opened" (Dan.7, 10), cf.also Rev.20, 12: "And I saw the dead, the great and the small, standing before the throne; and books were opened; and another book was opened, which is (the book) of life; and the dead were judged out of the things which were written in the books, according to their works".

Further, the following passages, namely, Sura 73, 14: "The earth and the mountains shall be shaken; and the mountains shall become a loose sand-heap";

Sura 18, 45: "We will cause the mountains to pass away, and thou

shalt see the earth a levelled plain"; and

Sura 27, 90: "And thou shalt see the mountains, which thou thinkest so firm, pass away with the passing of a cloud", are paral^elled in I Enoch 1, 6-7:

"And the high mountains shall be shaken,
And the high hills shall be made low,
And shall melt like wax before the flame.
And the earth shall be wholly rent in sunder
And all that is upon the earth shall perish,
And there shall be a judgment upon all (men)";

in the Assumption of Moses 10, 4:

"And the earth shall tremble:
to its confines shall it be shaken:
And the high mountains shall be made low
and the hills shall be shaken and fall"; and in the following

Biblical passages:

Is.40, 4: " and every mountain and hill shall be made low ";

Joel 3, 16: ". . . . and the heavens and the earth shall shake ";

St.Luke 21, 26: " for the powers of the heavens shall be shaken".

Once more, we read in Sura 21, 104: "On that day we will roll up the heaven as one rolleth up written scrolls" which reminds us of Is.34, 4: "And the heavens shall be rolled together as a scroll", and of Rev.6, 14: "And the heaven was removed as a scroll when it is rolled up"

Finally, the exceptional passage, namely, Sura 14, 49: "On the day when the Earth shall be changed into another Earth, and the Heavens also, men shall come forth unto God, the Only, the Victorious," - the only passage in the Qur'an where a complete transformation of the heavens and the earth is referred to - is

paralleled in I Enoch 45, 4-5, where a transformed heaven and earth will be the scene of the Messianic kingdom after the Judgment: "And I will transform the heaven and make it an eternal blessing and light: And I will transform the earth and make it a blessing". The idea of a world transformation goes back to Is.65, 17; 66, 22: "new heavens and a new earth"; it is also found in II Peter 3, 13: "But, according to his promise, we look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness"; and in Rev.21, 1: "And I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth are passed away" This idea may be traced ultimately to Persian influence.^x

- (b) With regard to its duration, the length of 'the Day', given as 1,000 years (Sura 32, 4) and as 50,000 years (Sura 70, 1-4) does not seem to have had any definite place in the Prophet's scheme; 'the Day' ushered in the final condition of the world and the two numbers indicating its length have not been assimilated to the general idea in the Prophet's mind.

Whatever the source of the second number, viz., 50,000 - if indeed it stands for anything other than a very large and impressive number - we recognise the first number, viz., 1,000, as the period assigned in II Enoch 32, 2-33, 2 to the Sabbatic blessedness and rest after the close of 6,000 years of the world's history: "And I blessed the seventh day, which is the Sabbath, on which he rested from all his works. And I appointed the eighth day also, that the eighth day should be the first-created after my work, and that the first seven revolve in the form of the seventh thousand, and that at the beginning of the eighth thousand there should be a time of not-counting, - endless, with neither years nor months nor weeks nor days nor hours".

In Ps.90, 4 it had been said:

"For a thousand years in thy sight
Are but as yesterday when it is past",



^xcf. T.K. Cheyne, The Origin and religious contents of the Psalter, London, 1891, pp.404-405.

and in II Peter 3, 8: "One day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day". In Rev.20, 2 f., a period of a thousand years is definitely assigned to the Messianic Kingdom.^x

This number, as used by the Prophet, is doubtless based ultimately on these uses of it, though his scheme of eschatological thought has no real place in it.

(c) We pass to the underlying principles of the Judgment:

(1) Every soul will be dealt with justly on its own merits. Here the familiar picture of the Balance appears, in which men's deeds are to be weighed:

"It is God who hath sent down the Book with truth, and the Balance" (Sura 42, 16);

"Just balances will we set up for the day of the Resurrection, neither shall any soul be wronged in aught; though, were a work but the weight of a grain of mustard seed, we would bring it forth (to be weighed): and our reckoning will suffice" (Sura 21, 48);

"The weighing on that day, with justice! and they whose balances shall be heavy, these are they who shall be happy.

And they whose balances shall be light, these are they who have lost their souls" (Sura 7, 7-8; cf. 101, 5-6). The weighing of men's actions in a balance was already known to Judaism and had found a place in Jewish eschatological thought.

We read, for example, in I Enoch 41, 1: "And after that I saw all the secrets of the heavens, and how the kingdom is divided, and how the actions of men are weighed in the balance"; and in I Enoch 61, 8: "And the Lord of Spirits placed the Elect One on the throne of glory. And he shall judge all the works of the holy above in the heaven, and in the balance shall their deeds be weighed".

^xcf. IV Ezra 7, 28, where it is said to last 400 years, but the versions here are not consistent as to this number. The Second Arabic Version, e.g., reads '1,000' (R.H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, Oxford, 1913, vol. 2, p. 582). "It seems clear, however," says J.H. Box, in *The Ezra-Apocalypse*, (London, 1912, p. 115), "that the variations and omissions may be explained as deliberate changes, for dogmatic reasons, of the original number 400".

The implication of this picture of the Balance is that men's actions will be impartially judged, according as they are good or bad - the good being placed in the one scale and the bad in the other. The idea is derived from the Old Testament, cf. Job 31, 6: "Let me be weighed in an even balance"; Prov. 16, 2: "The Lord weigheth the spirits"; Prov. 21, 2: "The Lord weigheth the hearts"^x (cf. 24, 12); Ps. 62, 9: "In the balances they will go up"; Dan. 5, 27: "Thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting".

The same underlying idea is found in Rabbinical literature, cf. Rosh-Hashshana 17a: "The Most Compassionate inclines (the scale of justice) to the side of mercy".*

Its association with the Resurrection Day and the final Judgment, however, goes back to such passages as the above in I Enoch, as well as to the following, viz., II Enoch, 44, 4-5: "Blessed is the man who does not direct his heart with malice against any man, and helps the injured and condemned, and raises the broken down, and shall do charity to the needy, because on the day of the great judgment every weight, every measure, and every makeweight will be as in the market, that is to say, they are hung on scales and stand in the market, and every one shall learn his own measure, and according to his measure shall take his reward"; and II Baruch 41, 3-6: "For lo! I see many of Thy people who have withdrawn from Thy covenant, and cast from them the yoke of Thy law. But others again I have seen who have forsaken their vanity, and fled for refuge beneath Thy wings. What therefore will be to them? Or perhaps the time of these will assuredly be weighed, and

^xFor possible Egyptian influence here, cf. Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, Giessen, 1924, Heft 3/4, art. von Hugo Gressmann: Die neugefundene Lehre des Amen - em - ope und die vorexilische Spruchdichtung Israels, p. 287.

*cf. Lazarus Goldschmidt, Der babylonische Talmud, Band 3, Berlin, 1899.

as the beam inclines will they be judged accordingly?"

More immediately it probably owes its origin to an illuminating passage in the Apocryphal Testament of Abraham, where the weighing of good and evil deeds is set forth in concrete form: "In the midst of the two gates stood a throne, . . . and on it sat a marvellous man . . . and before him stood a table like unto crystal, all of gold and fine linen. And on the table lay a book, its thickness was six cubits and its breadth ten cubits. And to the right and left of it there stood two angels, holding paper and ink and a pen. And in front of the table was seated a light-bearing angel, holding a Balance in his hand; and to the left sat a fiery angel, altogether merciless and stern, holding in his hand a trumpet, in which he kept an all-consuming fire, the test of sinners. And the marvellous man who was seated on the throne was himself judging and proving the souls, but the two angels who were on the right and on the left were registering; the one on the right was registering the righteous acts, but the one on the left the sins. And the one in front of the table, the one who held the Balance, was weighing the souls; and the fiery angel who held the fire was testing the souls. And Abraham asked Michael, the general-in-chief, 'What are these things that we are beholding?' And the general-in-chief said, 'What thou seest, holy Abraham, is the judgment and retribution'.^x

This idea of a Balance in which men's good and bad deeds are weighed after death is a very old Egyptian one. It is contained in the representation of the Judgment Scene in the Egyptian 'Book of the Dead': "The heart of Osiris hath in very truth been weighed, and his soul hath stood as a witness for him; it hath been found true by trial in the great Balance. There hath not been found any wickedness in him " ^o

^xcf. Texts and Studies, ed. by J.A. Robinson, vol. II, no. 2: The Testament of Abraham, Greek Text ed. by M.R. James, Cambridge, 1892, pp. 90, 91; also w. St. Clair Tisdall, The Original Sources of the Qur'an, London, 1911, pp. 201, 202.

^ocf. The Book of the Dead, by E.A. Wallis Budge, vol. 1, London, 1901, p. 26.

With regard to the impartiality of God's judgment, two passages may be cited, viz., I Enoch 108, 13: "For righteousness is the judgment of God", and II Baruch 13, 8: "Ye who have drunk the strained wine, drink ye also of its dregs, the judgment of the Lofty One who has no respect of persons."

- (2) ~~###~~ Belief in Allah and the Last Day along with meritorious deeds forms the basis for reward. Faith, defined as believing in Allah and the Last Day, and good works or uprightness of life are the common requirements if people of any denomination are to avoid future punishment. The Prophet's frequent perfunctory use of the expression 'the Last Day' in this connection, and his later sense of his personal determining influence in men's fate have been alluded to. But here we note the familiar combination of faith and works as a basis for reward: "Whoever believeth . . . and doeth that which is right, shall have their reward" (Sura 2, 59); "What (blessedness would be) theirs, if they should believe . . . and bestow alms . . . : and if there be any good deed, he will repay it doubly" (Sura 4, 41-44); ". . . who observe prayer, and pay the alms of obligation, and believe . . . - these! we will give them a great reward" (Sura 4, 158-160).

There is the same combination found in Apocalyptic Literature, e.g., IV Ezra 9, 7-8: "And every one that shall (then) be saved, and shall be able to escape on account of his works or his faith by which he has believed, such shall survive from the perils aforesaid, and shall see my salvation in my land, and within my borders which I have sanctified for myself eternally"; IV Ezra 13, 23: "He that shall bring the peril in that time will himself keep them that fall into the peril, even such as have works and faith toward (the most High and) the Mighty One". Acknowledgment of God's law and performance of its requirements had their reward. Very common in Judaism was the idea of a treasury of works stored up in heaven.

For instance, in IV Ezra 7, 77, we read: "For thou hast a treasure of works laid up with the Most High, but it shall not be showed thee until the last times", and in IV Ezra 8, 33: "For the righteous, who have many works laid up with thee, shall out of their own deeds receive their reward - ". In IV Ezra 6, 5 'treasures of faith' are spoken of, referring probably to the righteousness which comes from fidelity to the Law.

Greater stress is laid on good works in II Baruch, cf. 14, 12: "For the righteous justly hope for the end, and without fear depart from this habitation, because they have with thee a store of works preserved in treasuries", also 24, 1: "For behold! the days come and the books shall be opened in which are written the sins of all those who have sinned, and again also the treasuries in which the righteousness of all those who have been righteous in creation is gathered".

In the Qur'anic passages cited there is no mention of a treasury of merit stored up in heaven, yet it is significant that almsgiving is singled out as a good work and belief in Divine revelation is referred to, in one of the passages,^x as among the pre-conditions of reward: "the believers who believe in that which hath been sent down to thee, and in what hath been sent down before thee, and who observe prayer, and pay the alms of obligation and believe in God and the latter day, - these! we will give them a great reward." In Judaism God's Law was supremely the standard of judgment for men, "Thy Law which they have transgressed shall requite them on Thy Day" (II Baruch 48, 47), and almsgiving was pre-eminently the way in which treasure in heaven could be gathered: "As thy substance is, give alms of it according to thine abundance; if thou have little, be not afraid to give alms according to that little: for thou layest up a good treasure for thyself against the day of necessity: because alms delivereth from death, and suffereth not to come into darkness. Alms is a good gift in the sight of the Most

^xSura 4, 160.

High for all that give it" (Tobit 4, 8-11). The same underlying idea appears in the New Testament: "But lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth consume, and where thieves do not break through nor steal" (St.Matt.6,20); "Sell that ye have, and give alms; make for yourselves purses which wax not old, a treasure in the heavens that faileth not, where no thief draweth near, neither moth destroyeth" (St.Luke 12, 33); "Charge them that are rich . . . that they be rich in good works, that they be ready to distribute, willing to communicate: laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may lay hold on the life which is life indeed". (I Tim.6, 17-19).

3) ~~There~~ There will be little or no intercession for men. The rejection of the idea of intercession is one of the most significant things in the whole of Muhammad's eschatological scheme. No satisfaction, ransom, or help need be anticipated; every soul must plead for itself. A similar attitude reveals itself in Apocalyptic literature. In II Baruch 85, 12, we read: "For lo! when the Most High will bring to pass all these things, there shall not there be again (a place of repentance, nor) a limit to the times, nor a duration for the hours, nor a change of ways, nor place for prayer, nor sending of petitions, nor receiving of knowledge, nor giving of love, nor place of repentance for the soul, nor supplication for offences, nor intercession of the fathers, nor prayer of the prophets, nor help of the righteous". Also in IV Ezra 7, 102-105, intercession by the righteous for the ungodly is definitely rejected: "And I answered and said: If I have found favour in thy sight, show me, thy servant, this also: whether in the day of Judgment the righteous shall be able to intercede for the ungodly, or to entreat the Most High in their behalf: fathers for sons, sons for parents, brothers for brothers, kinsfolk for their nearest, friends for their dearest. And he answered me and said: Since thou hast found favour in my sight, I will show this also unto thee. The day of Judgment

is decisive, and displays unto all the seal of truth. Even as now a father may not send a son, or a son his father, or a master his slave, or a friend his dearest, that in his stead he may be ill, or sleep, or eat, or be healed; so shall none then pray for another on that day, neither shall one lay a burden on another; for then every one shall bear his own righteousness or unrighteousness".

The continuation of this passage is also instructive: Ezra pleads the many examples of intercession recorded in the Scriptures, and is told that while the present order endures such intercession is possible. But the day of Judgment means the closing of all accounts. "The present age is not the End; the glory of God abides not therein continuously: therefore have the strong prayed for the weak. But the day of Judgment shall be the end of this age and the beginning of the eternal age that is to come so shall no man then be able to have mercy on him who is condemned in the Judgment, nor overwhelm him who is victorious" (vv.112-115). The Qur'an is emphatic about neither a father nor a son being able to atone for the other (Sura 31, 32), yet in view of the above passage it is significant that in Sura 14, 42 Abraham is represented as praying that on the day of Reckoning there may be forgiveness, not only for himself but also for his parents and the faithful.^x The Apocalyptist, however, is referring only to intercession by the living for the living and insists that such is only possible while the present order lasts. This explains the reference to Enoch in II Enoch 64, 5: "redeemer of the sins of men, and helper of thy household", and the words in II Enoch 53, 1: "for there is there^x no helper of any man who has sinned." Apocalyptic literature provides no support for Muhammad's vacillation on the question of the absolute rejection of the idea of intercession. That he did have at the back of his mind the possibility of intercession on the day of Judgment is clear from Sura 20, 108 and 19, 88-90,^o but his

²⁴
^xcf.p. ~~23~~ supra.

^xi.e., presumably at the last Judgment, cf.G.H.Box, The Ezra-Apocalypse, London, 1912, p.154.

^o
²⁴
 cf.p. ~~23~~ supra.

normal teaching on the point is definitely based on the Jewish Apocalyptic view. It is true of course that in Judaism eschatological development proceeded along two lines - the national and the individual, and that in the eschatology of the nation the merit of the righteous was imputed to the remainder, the nation being reckoned as a whole, but for Muhammad the Judgment, we have seen, proceeded along the individual line and one could not intercede for another, each being judged on his own merits.^x ϕ

4) ~~III~~ The final principle of the Judgment is that Allah exercises complete and full sovereignty, Muhammad being only a warner. That Allah is to be the sole judge at the Last Judgment agrees with the general apocalyptic outlook of Judaism. IV Ezra 5, 56-6, 6 tells us that just as creation was brought into being at the beginning by God alone, so the end of creation will be brought about by God alone: "Through me alone and none other were they created; as also the end (shall come) through me alone and none other". In II Baruch

^xcf. P. Volz, Jüdische Eschatologie, Tübingen u. Leipzig, 1903, p. 92; also A. Bertholet, Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments, 2ter Band, Tübingen, 1911, pp. 435-437.

ϕ It is noteworthy that in Rabbinical literature the view is met with that the merits of sons will avail the fathers in the day of Judgment, cf. Sukkah 45 b: "Hezekiah said, 'I could free from Judgment the whole world from the day of my birth till now; along with my son Eleazar, from the beginning of the world until now; and if Jotham were with us, from the beginning of the world to the end of it'" (L. Goldschmidt, Der babylonische Talmud, Bd. 3, Berlin; ¹⁸⁹⁹ also

Chagigah 15b: "R. Meir said, . . . Would that I might die, that I might cause smoke to go up from his grave. When R. Meir died, smoke went up from the grave of Acher. R. Jochanan said, . . . Would that I might die, and extinguish the smoke from his grave. When R. Jochanan died, the smoke ceased from the grave of Acher. The public mourner uttered this expression over him, Even the keeper of the door of Gehenna stood not his ground before thee, Courteacher"

(A. W. Streane, A Translation of the Treatise Chagigah from the Babylonian Talmud, Cambridge, 1891, p. 88; see L. Goldschmidt, Der babylonische Talmud, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1899.

20, 4 we read: "And then I will show thee the Judgment of my might, and my ways which are unsearchable". The same implication appears in Michael's answer to Enoch, in I Enoch 25, 3-4: "This high mountain which thou hast seen, whose summit is like the throne of God, is His throne, where the Holy Great One, the Lord of Glory, the Eternal King, will sit, when He shall come down to visit the earth with goodness. And as for this fragrant tree no mortal is permitted to touch it till the great Judgment, when He shall take vengeance on all and bring (everything) to its consummation for ever". In I Enoch 1, 3-9, there is a vivid description of God coming for final judgment on mankind: "The Holy Great One will come forth from His dwelling, and the eternal God will tread upon the earth, (even) on Mount Sinai, (and appear from his camp), And appear in the strength of His might from the heaven of heavens.
 And there shall be a judgment upon all (men)"
 Similarly in I Enoch 91, 7: "And when sin and unrighteousness and blasphemy

And violence in all kinds of deeds increase,
 And apostasy and transgression and uncleanness increase,
 A great chastisement shall come from heaven upon all these,
 And the holy Lord will come forth with wrath and chastisement
 To execute judgment on earth". Again, in IV Ezra 7, 33-34, - we read: "And the Most High shall be revealed upon the throne of Judgment: (and then cometh the end) and compassion shall pass away, and pity be far off, and longsuffering withdrawn; but judgment alone shall remain, truth shall stand, and faithfulness triumph".

Sometimes, it is true, the Messiah is represented as exercising judicial functions, especially in the Parables of the Book of Enoch, e.g., I Enoch 69, 27: "And he sat on the throne of his glory, and the sum of judgment was given unto the Son of Man, and he caused the sinners to pass away and be destroyed from off the face of the earth, and those who have led the world astray"; I Enoch 61, 8-9: "And the

Lord of Spirits placed the Elect One on the throne of glory. And he shall judge all the works of the holy above in the heaven, and in the balance shall their deeds be weighed. And when he shall lift up his countenance to judge their secret ways according to the word of the name of the Lord of Spirits, and their path according to the way of the righteous judgment of the Lord of Spirits, then shall they all with one voice speak and bless, and glorify and extol and sanctify the name of the Lord of Spirits"; I Enoch 62, 2-3: "And the Lord of Spirits seated him on the throne of His glory, and the spirit of righteousness was poured out upon him, and the word of his mouth slays all the sinners, and all the unrighteous are destroyed from before his face. And there stand up in that day all the kings and the mighty, and the exalted and those who hold the earth, and they shall see and recognise how he sits on the throne of his glory, and righteousness is judged before him, and no lying word is spoken before him." The continuation of this last passage, however, makes it clear that God and the Messiah act together in the Judgment - vv.9-12: "And all the kings and the mighty and the exalted and those who rule the earth shall fall down before him on their faces, and worship and set their hope upon that Son of Man, and petition him and supplicate for mercy at his hands. Nevertheless that Lord of Spirits will so press them that they shall hastily go forth from His presence, and their faces shall be filled with shame, and the darkness grow deeper on their faces. And He will deliver them to the angels for punishment, to execute vengeance on them because they have oppressed His children and His elect, and they shall be a spectacle for the righteous and for His elect: they shall rejoice over them, because the wrath of the Lord of Spirits resteth upon them, and His sword is drunk with their blood."^x In one exceptional

^xR. Akiba held this view, though it was controverted by others. cf. Chagigah 14a, where commenting on Dan.7, 9, it is said: "There is no difficulty, One throne is for Him and one for David (i.e., the Messiah). As says a Baraitha, viz., One for him and one for David. These are the words of R. Akiba" (A.W. Streane, A Translation of the Treatise Chagigah from the Babylonian Talmud, Cambridge, 1891, p.77; see P. Volz, Jüdische Eschatologie, Tübingen u. Leipzig, 1903, p.260).

passage among the Parables, the Messiah does not appear at all in connection with the Judgment, viz., I Enoch 47, 3-4: "In those days I saw the Head of Days when He seated himself upon the throne of His glory, and the books of the living were opened before Him: And all His host which is in heaven above and His counsellors stood before Him, and the hearts of the holy were filled with joy; because the number of the righteous had been offered, and the prayer of the righteous had been heard, and the blood of the righteous been required before the Lord of Spirits."

In the Qur'an there is no trace of any such subordination of function on the part of Allah in relation to the final Judgment. He is the King of the day of Reckoning, with supreme power and sovereignty. Muhammad's function was merely to warn men of that Day and Hour, the knowledge of which was with Allah alone. While there is no thought of impinging on the judicial sovereignty of Allah, it is significant to notice the position which the Prophet gradually assumed in relation to Allah. The expression 'Allah and His Apostle' is a very common one in the later Suras.^x In Sura 33, 57, we read: "Verily, they who affront God and His Apostle, the curse of God is on them in this world, and in the world to come: and He hath prepared for them a shameful chastisement"; similarly in Sura 9, 64: "Know they not, that for him who opposeth God and His Apostle is surely the fire of Hell, in which he shall remain for ever? This is the great ignominy!" On the other hand, we read in Sura 48, 17: ". . . . but whoso shall obey God and His Apostle, he shall bring him into the gardens 'neath which the rivers flow"; and in Sura 5, 60: "Verily, your protector is God and His Apostle . . ." The use of this expression is no doubt to be explained by the heightened sense of the Prophet's own importance as head of the community in Medina. There is nothing however to show that any judicial function was to be discharged by the Prophet

^xcf. The Moslem World, ed. by S.M. Zwemer, vol. 16, New York, 1926, p. 48: art. The Psychology of Mohammed, by G.W. Broomfield.

at the final Judgment, though he obviously was claiming authority in increasing fashion and associating himself with Allah in the exercise of it.

The sole Judge on the Last Day was to be Allah.

III. Paradise.

From all the descriptive material regarding the final abode of the righteous, it is significant how predominant the use of the word 'garden' is, and where a qualifying epithet is added, how often the expression used is 'garden(s) of Eden' or 'garden(s) of Delight'. The word 'delight' (نعيم) is a translation of the Hebrew 'Eden' (עֵדֵן), this meaning being unknown to the Arabic 'Adn' (عدن). Both the name and this meaning given to it have been taken over from the Hebrew. On the other hand, the word 'Paradise' (فردوس) only occurs twice^x, though it is commonly used as a translation of 'garden' (جنة = 77). This is the Greek παραδεισος, and is of Persian origin.

Certain aspects of this descriptive material, we find, are paralleled in Apocalyptic literature. The idea of the final abode of the righteous as a garden is vividly represented in II Enoch 8, 1-8; 9, 1: "And those men took me from thence, and brought me to the third heaven, and placed me in the midst of a garden - a place such as has never been known for the goodness of its appearance. And I saw all the trees of beautiful colours and their fruits ripe and fragrant and all kinds of food which they produced, springing up with delightful fragrance. And in the midst (there is) the tree of life, in that place, on which God rests when he comes into Paradise. And this tree cannot be described for its excellence and sweet odour. And it is beautiful more than any created thing. And on all sides in appearance it is like gold and crimson and transparent as fire, and it covers everything. From its root in the garden there go forth four streams which pour honey and milk, oil and wine, and are separated in four directions, and go about

^xSura 18, 107; 23, 11.

with a soft course. And they go down to the Paradise of Eden, between corruptibility and incorruptibility. And thence they go along the earth, and have a revolution in their circle like also the other elements. And there is another tree, an olive tree, always distilling oil. And there is no tree there without fruit, and every tree is blessed. And there are three hundred angels very glorious, who keep the garden, and with never-ceasing voices and blessed singing, they serve the Lord every day. And I said: What a very blessed place is this! And those men spake unto me: This place, O Enoch, is prepared for the righteous who endure every kind of attack in their lives from those who afflict their souls: who turn away their eyes from unrighteousness, and accomplish a righteous judgment, and also give bread to the hungry, and clothe the naked, and raise the fallen, and assist the orphans who are oppressed, and who walk without blame before the face of the Lord, and serve him only. For them this place is prepared as an eternal inheritance."^x Just as this naïve description is based upon earlier descriptions of the primeval Garden of Eden^{*} and of the heavenly Paradise^o, so we have here the root of such a Qur'anic description as we find in Sura 47, 16-17: "A picture of the Paradise which is promised to the God-fearing! Therein are rivers of water, which corrupt not^φ: rivers of milk, whose taste changeth not: and rivers of wine, delicious to those who quaff it; and rivers of honey clarified: and therein are all kinds of fruit for them from their Lord!" The idea of the four rivers of Paradise in the Qur'an may be more immediately dependent on the Apocalypse of Paul, where we read 23: "There was a river of honey, and a river of milk, and a river of wine, and a river of oil"; 45: "And I entered in further and saw a tree planted, out of whose roots

^xcf. The Book of the Secrets of Enoch, trans. by W. R. Morfill and ed. by R. H. Charles, Oxford, 1896; cited by R. H. Charles, in "A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life", 2nd. ed., London, 1913, pp. 316 ff.

^{*}cf. Gen. 2, 8-17; I Enoch 32, 3-6; 77.

^ocf. I Enoch 60, 8; 61, 12; 70, 3.

^φ'Water' here takes the place of 'oil' in II Enoch.

flowed waters, and out of it was the beginning of the four rivers, and the Spirit of God rested upon that tree, and when the spirit breathed the waters flowed forth.^x

The fruit of the Garden, which in II Enoch above is so abundant and fragrant, "endures", according to IV Ezra 7, 123", incorruptible wherein is delight and healing"^{*} "An unfailing table" is the expression used in IV Ezra 9, 19 for the marvellous fruits of Paradise. The Qur'an (Sura 56) speaks of those who shall dwell "in gardens of delight" (v.12), "with such fruits as shall please them best" (v.20), "with abundant fruits, unfailing, unforbidden" (vv.31-32).^φ With regard to the inmates of the final abode, the passage cited from II Enoch provides us also with a general, if not precise, parallel to what we find in Sura 13, 19^b - 24: "Men of insight only will bear this in mind, who fulfil their pledge to God, and break not their compact: and who join together what God hath bidden to be joined, and who fear their Lord, and dread an ill reckoning; and who, from desire to see the face of their Lord, are constant amid trials, and observe prayer, and give alms, in secret and openly, out of what we have bestowed upon them, and turn aside evil by good: for these is the recompense of that abode, Gardens of Eden - into which they shall enter together with the just of their fathers, and their wives and their descendants: and the angels shall go in unto them at every portal: 'Peace be with you!' (say they), 'because ye have endured all things!' Charming the recompense of their abode!" Further the situation of the garden in the third heaven is significant, related as it is to the ancient conception of seven heavens - a conception widespread in both Jewish and Christian circles, which finds a place in certain passages^o of the Qur'an, though the Qur'an does not bring Paradise into definite connection with any particular one

^x cf. The Apocryphal New Testament, trans. by M.R. James, Oxford, 1924, pp. 538, 549.

^{*} cf. also Ezek. 47, 12; Rev. 22, 2.

^φ cf. also Sura 37, 40-42; 52, 22.

^o cf. also Sura 23, 88; 65, 12; 67, 3:

of the seven: "He it is who created for you all that is on Earth, then proceeded to the Heaven, and into seven Heavens^x did He fashion it: and He knoweth all things" (Sura 2, 27); "The seven heavens^x praise him, and the earth, and all who are therein" (Sura 17, 46); "And He made them seven heavens in two days, and in each heaven made known its office: and we furnished the lower heaven with lights and guardian angels" (Sura 41, 11); "See ye not how God hath created the seven heavens one over the other?" (Sura 71, 14); "And (we have) built above you seven solid heavens"^o (Sura 78, 12); "And we have created over you seven heavens^o" (Sura 23, 17). Rabbinical literature provides us with the same number of heavens and gives their specific names as follows: "Vilon, Rakia', Sh'chakim, Z'bul, Ma'on, Makhon, Araboth" (cf. Chagigah 12 b) / . Only the number of the heavens has passed over into the Qur'an, with the idea of their being arranged one above the other^o.

In II Enoch 65, 10 there is reference made to "a great wall that cannot be broken down" - presumably the wall that divides Paradise from the place of punishment - "and there shall be to them a great wall that cannot be broken down; and bright and incorruptible Paradise shall be their protection, and their eternal habitation. For all corruptible things shall vanish, and there shall be eternal life."^o Also, in IV Ezra 7, 36, Paradise and Gehenna are represented as lying side by side:

"And then shall the pit of torment appear,

And over against it the place of refreshment;

^xAr. = سبع سموات

^xAr. = السموات السبع

^oAr. = سبعة شراذم

^oAr. = سبع طرائق (lit. seven paths).

/cf. A.W. Streane, A Translation of the Treatise Chagigah from the Babylonian Talmud, Cambridge, 1891, p.63.

/cf. The Book of the Secrets of Enoch, trans. by W.R. Morfill and ed. by R.H. Charles, Oxford, 1896. Intro. pp. XXX - XLVII.

≠ cited by R.H. Charles, in 'A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life', 2nd ed., London, 1913, p.318.

The furnace of Gehenna shall be made manifest,
And over against it the Paradise of delight".

The New Testament too has the significant representation in St. Luke 16, 24-31, in connection with the Story of Lazarus:

"And he (the rich man) cried and said, Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue; for I am in anguish in this flame. But Abraham said, Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and Lazarus in like manner evil things: but now here he is comforted, and thou art in anguish. And beside all this, between us and you there is a great gulf fixed, that they which would pass from hence to you may not be able, and that none may cross over from thence to us. And he said, I pray thee therefore, father, that thou wouldest send him to my father's house; for I have five brethren: that he may testify unto them, lest they also come into this place of torment. But Abraham saith, They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them. And he said, Nay, father Abraham: but if one go to them from the dead, they will repent. And he said unto him, If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, if one rise from the dead". The Qur'an has similar representations. Sura 7, 44 speaks of a partition^x between the inmates of Paradise and the inmates of the fire - "And between them shall be a partition". Verse 48 of the same Sura speaks of the respective inmates holding converse: "And the inmates of the fire shall cry to the inmates of Paradise: 'Pour upon us some water, or of the refreshments God hath given you' They shall say, 'Truly God hath forbidden both to unbelievers'". That the Story of Lazarus was in some form known to Muhammad the following two further passages make clear -

Sura 46, 19: " Ye made away your precious gifts during your life on earth; and ye took your fill of pleasure in them:

^x Ar. = حجاب

This day, therefore, with punishment of shame shall ye be rewarded . . . ", and Sura 6, 109, 111: "With their most solemn oath have they sworn by God, that if a sign come unto them they will certainly believe it " "And though we had sent down the angels to them, and the dead had spoken to them . . . , they had not believed . . . " Rabbinical literature too speaks of such a wall between Paradise and Hell. The Midrash on Eccles.7, 14 says: "How much room is there between them? A span, (says R.Acha), or a wall, according to R.Jochanan; other teachers however hold that they are so close together that people can see from one into the other."^X

There is a further Qur'anic passage, namely, Sura 57, 13, which speaks of a wall (سور) between the inmates of Paradise and those of the Fire: "On that day the hypocrites, both men and women, shall say to those who believe, 'Tarry for us, that we may kindle our light at yours'. It shall be said, 'Return ye back, and seek light for yourselves'. But between them shall be set a wall with a gateway within which shall be the Mercy, and in front, without it, the Torment. They shall cry to them, 'Were we not with you?' They shall say, 'Yes! but ye led yourselves into temptation, and ye delayed, and ye doubted, and the good things ye craved deceived you, till the doom of God arrived: - and the deceiver deceived you in regard to God!'. The similarity of this description to that in the Story of the Ten Virgins in St.Matt.25, 1-13 is obvious, especially, vv.8-13: "And the foolish said unto the wise, Give us of your oil; for our lamps are going out. But the wise answered, saying, Peradventure there will not be enough for us and you: go ye rather to them that sell, and buy for yourselves; They that were ready went in and the door was shut. Afterwards come also the other virgins, saying, Lord, Lord, open to us. But he answered and said, Verily, I say unto you, I know you not. Watch, therefore, for ye know not the day nor the hour". One other

^Xcf. Bibliotheca Rabbinica: Eine Sammlung alter Midraschim. Der Midrasch Kohelet, von Dr. Aug. Wünsche, Leipzig, 1880.

passage, namely, Sura 7, 38, may be added here as containing a New Testament reference: "Verily, they who have charged our signs with falsehood and have turned away from them in their pride, Heaven's gates shall not be opened to them, nor shall they enter Paradise, until the camel passeth through the eye of the needle . . . " In St. Luke 18, 25, we read: "For it is easier for a camel to enter in through a needle's eye, than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God."^x

A peculiar feature of the Qur'anic picture of Paradise is the mention of the 'Ḥūrīs' - the dark-eyed damsels who serve as companions to the righteous. It may be that this feature sprang from Muḥammad's own imagination, but the idea of the Ḥūrīs is generally considered to be a borrowed one. A.J.Wensinck connects them with the Christian angels. He suggests "that Muḥammad misunderstood Christian pictures of Paradise and that the angels in them are the originals of the youths and maidens of the Qur'an".^x W.St.Clair Tisdall traces them to a Persian origin, viz., the female spirits (Pairikas) who dwelt chiefly in the sky, but often visited the earth. connected closely with the stars and light, and so beautiful that they captivated men's hearts.^o The word Ḥūr (حور), by which these damsels of Paradise are spoken of in the Qur'an (Sura 52, 20; 55, 72; 56, 22; 44, 54), is the plural of Ḥaura' (حوراء), feminine of Aḥwar (احور), meaning "a being with eyes, whose white part is intensely white and whose dark part is intensely dark"^φ. Tisdall thinks the word itself is of Persian origin, denoting originally 'light', 'brightness', 'sunshine', and finally 'the sun', and that when the Arabs borrowed the conception of these bright and sunny maidens from the Persians, they probably borrowed the word that best described them. J.

^xcf. St. Matt. 19, 24; St. Mark, 10, 25.

^xcf. The Encyclopaedia of Islam, No. 23, London, 1916, art. Ḥūr, p. 337.

^ocf. The Original Sources of the Koran, London, 1911, p. 237.

^φcf. E.W. Lane, An Arabic-English Lexicon, sub 'aḥwar'.

Horovitz, however, points out that the pre-islamic poets used the word in connection with drinking bouts and is of opinion that Muḥammad borrowed the word and conception from the poets, transferring their descriptions of the earthly 'Hūrīs' to the heavenly sphere.^x

The most recent view is by E. Berthels, who, while not seeking a Persian origin for the word Hūr, traces the conception of the Hūrīs to the Persian 'Daēna', that is, the good deeds of the pure soul in Paradise that appear before it personified in the form of a beautiful fifteen-year old maiden.^x

The occasional indications of rank among the inmates of Paradise, though vague and indefinite in character, are significant. The reference in Sura 4, 97-98, to the higher rank assigned to "those who contend earnestly with their persons and with their substance", recalls other passages in the Qur'an that speak of the special reward for those who have fallen in holy warfare. For instance, Sura 2, 149: "And say not of those who are slain on God's path that they are dead; nay, they are living!"; Sura 3, 151-152: "And if ye shall be slain or die on the path of God, then pardon from God and mercy is better than all your amassings: for if ye die or be slain, verily unto God shall ye be gathered"; and Sura 3, 163-165: "And repute not those slain on God's path to be dead. Nay, alive with their Lord, are they richly sustained; rejoicing in what God of his bounty hath vouchsafed them, filled with joy for those who follow after them, but have not yet overtaken them, that on them nor fear shall come, nor grief; filled with joy at the favours of God, and at his bounty: and that God suffereth not the reward of the faithful to perish". That a special reward is held out for the martyrs or those who have suffered in the cause of God appears in I Enoch 50, 2-3:

^x cf. Das koranische Paradies, Jerusalem, 1923 (Not accessible, but see Islamica, ed. A. Fischer, vol. I, Leipzig, 1925, p. 287, + p. 543).

^x cf. Islamica, ed. A. Fischer, vol. I, Leipzig, 1925, art. Die paradiesischen Jungfrauen (Hūrīs) im Islam, pp. 263 ff.

"And the righteous shall be victorious in
the name of the Lord of Spirits:

And He will cause the others to witness (this)

That they may repent

And forego the works of their hands.

They shall have no honour through the name of the Lord of Spirits,

Yet through His name shall they be saved,

And the Lord of Spirits will have compassion on them,

For His compassion is great".

The righteous^x, in a word, will attain to victory and honour but 'the others', though saved, will receive no honour. In Dan.12, 3, it is said of the teachers or the wise that they "shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever". The patriarchs, according to Test.Judah 25, receive special rank: "And after these things shall Abraham and Isaac and Jacob arise unto life, and I and my brethren shall be chiefs of the tribes of Israel: Levi first, I the second, Joseph third, Benjamin fourth, Simeon fifth, Issachar sixth, and so all in order." The God-fearers, according to II Enoch 43, 3, will be the most glorious: "Let it be heard everywhere; there is no one greater than he who fears God. He shall be the most glorious for ever". The words of Jesus to His twelve disciples, in St.Matt.19, 28, are pertinent in this connection: "Verily I say unto you, that ye which have followed me, in the regeneration when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel".

The idea of rank in Paradise is also found in Rabbinical literature. Indefinite references occur in ^{Pirge} Aboth II, 16: "If thou hast studied much Torah, much reward will be given thee";^x

^x i.e., the martyrs, or the oppressed pious ones:
c.f.P.Volz, Jüdische Eschatologie, Tübingen u.Leipzig, 1903,
p.366.

^{*} Lazarus Goldschmidt, Der babylonische Talmud, Band 7, Berlin, 1903.

and Shabbath 118a: "He who celebrates the Sabbath with joy shall have a boundless inheritance bestowed upon him"^x. In Chagigah 14b, however, we read of R. Jochanan ben Zakkai and his followers being destined definitely for the the third rank: "And also in my dreams I and ye were resting upon Mount Sinai, and a Bath-kol was sent to us from heaven which said: 'Come up hither, come up hither. Large banqueting chambers are prepared and fair coverlets are spread for you, you and your disciples and your disciples' disciples, as fitted to attain to the third degree of blessedness'"^x.

The fact that it is the martyrs who are specially marked out in the Qur'an for honour and rank leads one to think of the special position the martyrs in the early Christian Church came to assume and the possible influence of this on the Prophet's thought.

IV. HELL.

It is significant how much fuller the descriptions of Hell are in comparison with those of Paradise. The emphasis is placed on Hell, its inmates, and their woeful condition. These were obviously in the forefront of the Prophet's thought. Chiefly, but not exclusively, in the Meccan Suras are found the lurid descriptions of the final abode of the wicked. Very characteristic is the use of the word 'fire' (نار), and also the word 'Jahannam' (جهنم), as well as the occasional combination of these two - 'the fire of Jahannam' (نار جهنم). The name 'Jahannam' (جهنم) is derived not from the Greek γέεννα or the Syriac ܓܝܢܢܘܬ but from the Ethiopic ገሀንም , as the final consonant 'm' shows. This in turn has its basis in the Hebrew גֵּיהֶנּוֹם , which takes its name from 'the Valley of Hinnom' to the South and South-West of

^x Lazarus Goldschmidt, Der babylonische Talmud, Band I, Berlin, 1897.

^x cf. A.W. Streane, A Translation of the Treatise Chagigah from the Babylonian Talmud, Cambridge, 1891, p.82.

Jerusalem.^x It is not unnatural therefore to expect in Apocalyptic literature the basis for many of the Prophet's ideas about Hell and its inmates. The idea of that final abode of the wicked as a 'fire' finds expression in such passages as I Enoch 91, 9: "And they (i.e., the heathen) shall be cast into the judgment of fire, and shall perish in wrath and in grievous judgment for ever"; I Enoch 98, 3: " and with all their glory and their splendour, and in shame and in slaughter and in great destitution, their spirits shall be cast into the furnace of fire";^{*} I Enoch 100, 9:

"Woe to you, ye sinners, on account of the words of your mouth,
And on account of the deeds of your hands which your godlessness
has wrought,

In blazing flames burning worse than fire shall ye burn";

I Enoch 103, 8: "And into darkness and chains and a burning flame^φ where there is grievous judgment shall your spirits^φ enter "; I Enoch 108, 3: " And in the fire shall they burn "; IV Ezra 7, 36-38:

'And then shall the pit of torment appear,
and over against it the place of refreshment;
The furnace of Gehenna shall be made manifest,
and over against it the Paradise of delight.

^x cf. O. Pautz, Muhammeds Lehre von der Offenbarung, Leipzig, 1898, S. 217, No. 4;
T. Nöldeke, Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft, Strassburg, 1910, S. 47;
W. Rudolph, Die Abhängigkeit des Korans von Judentum und Christentum, Stuttgart, 1922, S. 34.

^{*} cf. St. Matt. 13, 42, 50.

^φ cf. P. Volz, Jüdische Eschatologie, Tübingen u. Leipzig, 1903, s. 285:
"In der Regel wird dieses Feuer wörtlich gemeint sein und man setzt voraus, dass die lebenden Gottlosen beim jüngsten Gericht mitsamt ihrem Leib ins Höllenfeuer versinken,
Man wird übrigens auch dem Geist und dem Geistesleib eine Art körperlichen Empfindens beigelegt haben,"

And then shall the Most High say to the nations
that have been raised (from the dead):

Look now, and consider whom ye have denied,

whom ye have not served, whose commandments ye have despised!

Look, now, before (you):

here delight and refreshment,

there fire and torments!";^x

II Baruch 44, 15: "For to them will be given the world to come, but the dwelling of the rest who are many will be in the fire";

II Baruch 48, 43: "For all this multitude are going to corruption, nor is there any numbering of those whom the fire devours";

II Baruch 59, 2: "For at that time the lamp of the eternal law shone on all those who sat in darkness, which announced to them that believe the promise of their reward, and to them that deny, the torment of fire which is reserved for them"; II Baruch 85, 13: "There there is the sentence of corruption, the way of fire, and the path which bringeth to Gehenna". The two following passages from **II Enoch**^x are of special significance because of the description they give of the inmates and gate-keepers of Hell:

10, 1-6: "And the men then led me to the Northern region, and showed me there a very terrible place. And there are all sorts of tortures in that place. Savage darkness and impenetrable gloom; and there is no light there, but a gloomy fire is always burning, and a fiery river goes forth. And all that place has fire on all sides and on all sides cold and ice, thus it burns and freezes. And the prisoners are very savage. And the angels terrible and without pity, carrying savage weapons, and their torture was unmerciful. And I said, Woe! woe! How terrible is this place! And the men said to me: This place, Enoch, is prepared for those who do not honour God; who commit evil deeds

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cf. Sura 7, 44 ff. and connection with the Story of Lazarus in St. Luke 16, 24-31 - ~~above~~ pp. 66 ff.
supra 66

x
cf. The Book of the Secrets of Enoch, trans. by W.R. Morfill and ed. by R.H. Charles, Oxford, 1896; cited by R.H. Charles, in "A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life", 2nd ed., London, 1913, pp. 318 ff.

on earth, ~~vitiu~~ sodomiticum, witchcraft, enchantments, devilish magic; and who boast of their evil deeds, stealing, lying, calumnies, envy, evil thoughts, fornication, murder. Who steal the souls of wretched men, oppressing the poor and spoiling them of their possessions, and themselves grow rich by the taking of other men's possessions, injuring them. Who when they might feed the hungry, allow them to die of famine; who when they might clothe them, strip them naked. Who do not know their Creator and worshipped gods without life; who can neither see nor hear, being vain gods, and have fashioned the forms of idols, and bow down to a contemptible thing, made with hands; for all these this place is prepared for an eternal inheritance"; and

42, 1-2: "I saw those who keep the keys, and are the guardians of the gates of hell, standing, like great serpents, and their faces were like quenched lamps, and their eyes were fiery, and their teeth were sharp. And they were stripped to the waist. And I said before their faces, Would that I had not seen you, nor heard of your doings, and that those of my race had never come to you! Now they have sinned only a little in this life, and always suffer in the eternal life".

The description above of Hell's inmates has much in common with what we have found in different parts of the Qur'an. For example, the following passages may be noted:

Sura 82, 14: "But verily the impure in Hell-fire";

Sura 74, 44-48: "We (i.e., Hell's inmates)

were not of those who prayed,

And we were not of those who fed the poor,

And we plunged into vain disputes with vain disputers,

And we rejected as a lie, the day of reckoning,

Till the certainty came upon us";

Sura 4, 11: "Verily, they who swallow the substance of the orphan wrongfully, shall swallow down only fire into their bellies, and

shall burn in the flame!" Sura 9, 17: "It is not for of other gods with God, witnesses against themselves of to visit the temples of God. These! vain their works; and in the fire shall they abide for ever!"

Sura 14, 35: "They set up compeers with God in order to mislead man from his way. Say: Enjoy your pleasures yet awhile, but assuredly, your going hence shall be into the fire" (cf. 39, 11). The reference to "the guardians of the gates of Hell" finds its Qur'anic counterpart in Sura 66, 6: "O Believers! save yourselves and your families from the fire whose fuel is men and stones, over which are set angels fierce and mighty: they disobey not God in what He hath commanded them, but execute His behests".

The Qur'anic mention of Malik^x; one of the keepers of Hell, who specially presides over the torments of the wicked, in Sura 43, 77, takes us back to Melech or Molech,^{*} the ancient Semitic god of fire, the peculiar feature in whose worship was the sacrificing of children as burnt-offerings. The Old Testament witnesses to this practice amongst the Israelites, in II Kings 23, 10: "And he (Josiah) defiled Topheth, which is in the valley of the children of Hinnom, that no man might make his son or his daughter to pass through the fire to Molech"; II Kings 16, 3: "But he (Ahaz) walked in the way of the kings of Israel, yea, and made his son to pass through the fire, according to the abominations of the heathen, whom the Lord cast out from before the children of Israel"; and Lev. 18, 21: "And thou shalt not give any of thy seed to make them pass through the fire to Molech . . .". The reference to the 'gates of Hell' reminds us of the 'seven portals' or regions of Hell, mentioned in Sura 15, 44: "It hath seven portals; at each portal is a separate band of them" (i.e., the beguiled followers of Iblis). The Qur'an does not indicate whether the portals of Hell imply different grades of punishment, but double

^x Ar. ملك = 'ruler', 'king'

^{*} Heb. מלך = 'king'

shall burn in the flame!" Sura 9, 17: "It is not for the votaries of other gods with God, witnesses against themselves of infidelity, to visit the temples of God. These! vain their works; and in the fire shall they abide for ever!"

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^x Ar. ملك = 'ruler', 'king'

^{*} Heb. מלך = 'king'

torment is threatened in Sura 7, 36, on unbelieving Jinn and men, and in Sura 25, 69 on the fornicator. For the actual number 'seven' we have to turn to Rabbinical literature, in Soṭa 10b, where David is said to have rescued Absalom from "the seven dwellings (or divisions) of Hell."^x

In the Qur'an, it is to be noted, the Devil is not the 'Prince of Hell', but a fallen angel, commonly called Shaiṭan (شيطان) but occasionally (eleven times in all) named Iblis (إبليس). The name Shaiṭan is the general Hebrew one, Satan (שטן), derived through the Ethiopic Shaiṭan (ሠጥን)^{*}, while Iblis is probably a corruption of διαβολος (diabolos).^o

The rôle that the Devil plays in the Qur'an is that of leading men astray until the day of Judgment when he and his votaries will be cast into Hell.^e A typical passage is Sura 7, 10-17: "We created you; then fashioned you; then said we to the angels, 'Prostrate yourselves unto Adam^φ: and they prostrated them all in worship, save Eblis: He was not among those who prostrated themselves. To him said God: 'What hath hindered thee from prostrating thyself in worship at my bidding?' He said, 'Nobler

^φ cf. J.C. Blair, The Sources of Islam, Madras, 1925, p.40, who refers to Heb. 1, 6: "And when he again bringeth in the first-born into the world he saith, And let all the angels of God worship him", and thinks Muhammad mistook this reference to the angels worshipping the first begotten as applying to Adam instead of to Christ.

^x cf. Lazarus Goldschmidt, Der babylonische Talmud, Band 5, Leipzig, 1912.

^{*} cf. T. Nöldeke, Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft, Strassburg, 1910, s.47 - " ሠጥን ist in der genau entsprechenden Form شيطان schon längere zeit vor Muhammed arabisch geworden "

^o cf. W. Rudolph, Die Abhängigkeit des Qurans von Judentum und Christentum, Stuttgart, 1922, s.35: "So legt sich die Vermutung nahe, dass 'Iblis ein christlicher Name ist: es wird dabei bleiben, dass er aus διαβολος verderbt ist".

^e cf. Sura 18, 48, where Muhammad appears to have considered Iblis as one of the Jinn.

am I than he: me hast thou created of fire, of clay hast thou created him? He said, 'Get thee down hence: Paradise is no place for thy pride: Get thee gone then; one of the despised shalt thou be'. He said, 'Respite me till the day when (mankind) shall be raised from the dead'. He said, 'One of the respited shalt thou be'. He said, 'Now, for that thou hast caused me to err, surely in thy straight path will I lay wait for them: Then will I surely come upon them from before, and from behind, and from their right hand, and from their left, and thou shalt not find the greater part of them to be thankful! He said, 'Go forth from it, a scorned, a banished one! Whoever of them shall follow thee, I will surely fill hell with you, one and all'" x

The representation of the Devil as envious of Adam and his lordship over the earth appears in II Enoch, 31, 3: ^x "And the devil took thought, as if wishing to make another world, because things were subservient to Adam on earth, to rule it and have lordship over it." ^o The cause of the Devil's envy -(that he was created of fire), and the result of his refusal to bow before Adam - (that he was cast out of Heaven) find their counterpart in II Enoch 29, 3-5: ^z And from the fire I made the ranks of the spiritual hosts, ten thousand angels ^φ, and their weapons are fiery, and their garment is a burning flame, and I ordered them to stand each in their ranks. One of these in the ranks of the Archangels, having turned away with the rank below him, entertained an impossible idea, that he should make his throne higher than the clouds

- x
cf. also Sura 17, 63-65; 15, 30-44; 38, 71-85.
The dialogue between Allah and the Devil in the passage cited reminds us of the prologue of the Book of Job (chs. 1 and 2).
- ^x cf. The Book of the Secrets of Enoch, trans. by W.R. Morfill and ed. by R.H. Charles, Oxford, 1896.
- ^o cf. also The Book of Wisdom, 2, 23-24.
- ~~^z cf. The Book of the Secrets of Enoch, trans. by W.R. Morfill, and ed. by R.H. Charles, Oxford, 1896.~~
- ^φ cf. Ps. 104, 4: "Who maketh . . . His ministers a flaming fire" cf. Heb. 1, 7; also Chagigah 14a: "every several day ministering angels are created from the fiery stream" (A.W. Streane, A Translation of the Treatise Chagigah from the Babylonian Talmud, Cambridge, 1891, p. 76).

over the earth, and should be equal in rank to My power. And I hurled him from the heights with his angels " The idea of fire being superior to earth, which lies at the root of the Devil's objection to bow before Adam, is in origin a Greek idea, as is pointed out by D.S.Margoliouth, who says: "When Satan refuses to bow down before Adam on the ground that he had been created of fire, whereas Adam had been created of clay, the underlying thought is that of Aristotle's Physics: wherein the proof is given that fire is more honourable than earth, because in the hierarchy of the elements fire is at the top, whereas earth is at the bottom.^x

When we turn to the torments of Hell, we find much due to Muhammad's own imagination, especially his references to the pouring of boiling water down the throats of the wicked. The tree 'zaqqum', coming up from the bottom Hell with its foul food (cf. Sura 37, 60, 62-64; 56, 51-53; 44, 43-46) is a peculiar feature. Whether the tree of Paradise may have suggested this tree of Hell is uncertain, but the Rabbis speak of a tree at the entrance to Hell, in Sukkah 32b: "Two date palms grow in the valley of Ben Hinnom, smoke issues from between them this is the entrance to Hell".^o

The chains and fetters referred to in such Suras as 76, 4; 40, 73; 13, 6; 73, 12 remind us of I Enoch 54, 1-5: "And I looked and turned to another part of the earth, and saw there a deep valley with burning fire. And they brought the kings and the mighty, and began to cast them into this deep valley. And there mine eyes saw how they made these their instruments, iron chains of immeasurable weight. And I asked the angel of peace who went with me, saying: 'For whom are these chains being prepared?' And he said unto me: 'these are being prepared for the hosts of Azazel'" The rekindling of the fire, and the repetition of the torment, as

^x cf. The Early Development of Mohammedanism, London, 1914, p.206.

^o cf. Lazarus Goldschmidt, Der babylonische Talmud, Band 3, Berlin, 1899.

in Sura 17, 99; 4, 59, recall passages such as Jubilees 36, 10: "But on the day of turbulence and execration and indignation and anger, with flaming devouring fire as He burnt Sodom, so likewise will He burn his land and his city and all that is his, and he will be blotted out of the book of the discipline of the children of men, and not be recorded in the book of life, but in that which is appointed to destruction, and he will depart into eternal execration: so that their condemnation may be always renewed in hate and in execration and in wrath and in torment and in indignation and in plagues and in disease for ever"; and II Enoch 7, 2-3:"^x And I said to the men who were with me; 'Why are these men continually tormented?' And the men answered me: 'These are they who apostatised from the Lord: who obeyed not the commandments of God, and took counsel of their own will, and transgressed together with their prince'" That the torments, thus repeated, are unceasing and that Hell is the everlasting abode of the wicked is perhaps one of the commonest features that finds many parallels in Apocalyptic literature: for example, I Enoch 10, 13-14: "In those days they (i.e., fallen angels) shall be led off to the abyss of fire: (and) to the torment and the prison in which they shall be confined for ever. And whosoever shall be condemned and destroyed will from thenceforth be bound together with them to the end of all generations"; I Enoch 27, 2: "Then Uriel, one of the holy angels who was with me, answered and said, 'This accursed valley is for those who are accursed for ever: here shall all the accursed be gathered together who utter with their lips against the Lord unseemly words and of His glory speak hard things'"; I Enoch 91, 9(~~91~~^{supra} p. ~~91~~⁷³); I Enoch 53, 2:

"And their hands commit lawless deeds,

And the sinners devour all whom they lawlessly oppress;

^x cf. The Book of the Secrets of Enoch, trans. by W.R. Morfill and ed. by R.H. Charles, Oxford, 1896.

Yet the sinners shall be destroyed before the face of
the Lord of Spirits,

And they shall be banished from off the face of His earth,

And they shall perish for ever and ever";

Jubilees 36, 10 (^{supra} ~~see~~ p. ~~III~~⁸⁰).

The following Biblical passages are also pertinent here:

Dan.12, 2: "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt";

St.Matt.25, 41: "Then shall he say also unto them on the left hand, 'Depart from me, ye cursed, into the eternal fire which is prepared for the devil and his angels'"; and

Rev.20, 10: "And the devil that deceived them was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where are also the beast and the false prophet; and they shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever".

The same implication of finality and eternality appears in II Baruch 85, 12:^o

"For lo! when the Most High will bring to pass all these things, there will not there^x be again an opportunity for returning, nor a limit to the times, nor adjournment to the hours, nor change of ways, nor place for prayer, nor sending of petitions, nor receiving of knowledge, nor giving of love, nor place of repentance, nor supplication for offences, nor intercession of the fathers, nor prayer of the prophets, nor help of the righteous. There there is the sentence of corruption, the way of fire, and the path which bringeth to Gehenna". Likewise in IX Ezra 7, 82: . . . they are now unable to make a good repentance for life;" and II Enoch 61, 3:^φ "Blessed are those who shall go to the mansions of the blessed; for in the evil ones there is no rest nor any means of return from them"; also

^x"Das 'dort' (there) wird vom Gerichtsakt und noch mehr vom Verdammiszustand zu verstehen sein", cf. P. Volz, 'Jüdische Eschatologie', Tübingen u. Leipzig, 1903, p. 287.

^o cf. The Apocalypse of Baruch, R. H. Charles, London, 1896.

^φ cf. The Book of the Secrets of Enoch, trans. by W. R. Morfill and ed. by R. H. Charles, Oxford, 1896.

II Enoch 62, 2:⁷ . . . There is no repentance after death"; as well as II Enoch 10, 6; 42, 2 already cited (~~supra~~ ^{supra} 74-75 ~~pp~~ ~~100-101~~).

We have seen how in two Qur'anic passages of the Meccan period an exception to the general eternality of punishment is contemplated by the insertion of the words "unless as God shall will" (Sura 6, 128; 11, 109). In Rabbinic literature, while Hell is spoken of as one of the seven things created before the world^x, and mention is made of the eternal wrath of God, as well as of eternal fetters and slaughter,^o the duration of Hell-fire was a matter of dispute, some taking a sterner view and others a milder view. According to the school of Shammai, "the wholly righteous are immediately written down and sealed for eternal life and the wholly wicked for Hell . . . while those who are midway between these two go down to Hell where they howl from pain but they come up again therefrom "

The school of Hillel taught a milder view that the pains of Hell were only temporary for the less wicked but eternal for "those who disbelieve in God and His law and the Resurrection, spreading abominations in the land of the living and not only sinning themselves but also leading the multitude astray".^φ Many found it unbearable to think of any of the chosen race being doomed to eternal punishment, as in Erubin 19a: "The fire of Hell has no power over the sinners in Israel "^e

⁷ cf. The Book of the Secrets of Enoch, trans. by W.R. Morfill and ed. by R.H. Charles, Oxford, 1896.

^x cf. Lazarus Goldschmidt, Der babylonische Talmud, Band 2, Berlin, 1901. Pesachim 54a.

^o cf. Lazarus Goldschmidt, Der babylonische Talmud, Band 1, Berlin, 1897, Berachoth 28b.

^φ cf. Lazarus Goldschmidt, Der babylonische Talmud, Band 3, Berlin, 1899. Rosh-Ha-shshanah, 16b, 17a.

^e cf. Lazarus Goldschmidt, Der babylonische Talmud, Band 2, Berlin, 1901.

Evidently Muhammad found this view prevalent among the Jews in Medina, as Sura 2, 74 shows:

"And they say, 'Hell fire shall not touch us, but for a few days'" (cf. 3, 23).

In rebutting the argument of these Jews, the Prophet naturally in the later Suras (i.e., of the Medinan period) does not allow of any exception to the view that the punishment of Hell is for ever. Nevertheless the Meccan Sura 19, 72-73 indicates that, although believers as well as unbelievers will go down to Hell, no true believer will remain in Hell for ever: "No one is there of you who shall not go down unto it - This is a settled decree with thy Lord - Then will we deliver those who had the fear of God, and the wicked will we leave in it on their knees". This itself is an isolated passage and its exact significance is not at all clear. If the obvious meaning of the words be taken, it would seem that what Muhammad rejects as far as the Jews are concerned he adopts for his own followers.

In this connection reference may finally be made to those who stand on the partition or wall, Al - Araf (الأعراف), situated between Paradise and Hell.^x

In addition to what we have already said regarding this dividing wall on p.⁶⁷ ff., we have to note here those who stand thereon. They are evidently neither among the inmates of Paradise nor among those of Hell, as their conversation with these respective parties implies:

"And between them shall be a partition, and on (the wall) Al Araf shall be men who will know all by their tokens, and they shall cry to the inmates of Paradise, 'Peace be on you!' but they shall not (yet) enter it, although they long to do so. And when their eyes are turned towards the inmates of the Fire, they shall say, 'O our Lord! place us not with the offending people'. And they who are upon Al Araf shall cry to those whom they shall know

^x cf. Sura 7, 44 ff.

by their tokens, 'Your amassings and your pride have availed you nothing. Are these they on whom ye swear God would not bestow mercy? Enter ye into Paradise! where no fear shall be upon you, neither shall ye be put to grief!' "(Sura 7, 44-47).

Presumably the idea is that their good and evil deeds are equal - an idea that is found in The Testament of Abraham;

"And the angel that held fast the soul in his hand brought it before the Judge, who said to one of the ministering angels: Open this book and find the sins of this soul. And having opened the book he found its sins and its righteous deeds weighing equal; he therefore handed it over neither for torture nor for salvation, but set it midway between them".^x Rabbinical literature has a similar conception, as Rosh-Hashshanah 16b shows. On the authority of R.Jochanan "three books are opened on New Year's feast; one for the wholly wicked, one for the wholly pious, and one for those who are midway between these two". According to the school of Shammai, "there are three classes on the Day of Judgment - the wholly righteous, the wholly wicked, and those who are midway between these two."^{*} J.C.Blair traces this idea of Al-A'raf ultimately to Persia.^o

~~_____~~. It is clear^{now} how large a part Apocalyptic literature played indirectly in the formulating of the Prophet's eschatological ideas. That Biblical, Apocryphal, and Rabbinical writings also played their part is equally evident; and that ultimately certain elements owe their origin to other than Jewish or Christian sources has been indicated.

^x cf. Texts and Studies, ed. by J.A. Robinson, vol. II, No. 2, The Testament of Abraham, Greek Text by M.R. James, Cambridge, 1892, p. 91.

^{*} Lazarus Goldschmidt, Der babylonische Talmud, Band 3, Berlin, 1899.

^o cf. The Sources of Islam, Madras, 1925, pp. 86 ff.

THIRD PART. We have further to endeavour to ascertain through what more immediate channel the idea of the Last Judgment reached Muhammad. The Jewish and Christian sources that we have traced were mediated to him through the religious environment amid which he grew up. In what way and along what lines did this take place?

It has been supposed^x that the Qur'anic expression 'Tales of the Ancients' (اساطير الاولين) refers to a written source used by Muhammad, containing besides other matter the doctrine of the Resurrection. The expression occurs as a gibe on the lips of his opponents nine times, namely, Sura, 68,15; 83,13; 23,85; 27,70; 16,26; 46,16; 6,25; 8,31; 25,6. In the last case cited (25,6) there is added the following: "that he hath put in writing; and they were dictated to him morn and even." To meet the charge that his revelations were a fraud, being mere reproductions of 'Tales of the Ancients', Muhammad has nothing to say but - "He (Allah) hath sent it down' (25,7), which may or may not imply that the charge was true. It may be that Muhammad got copies of 'old holy books' transcribed for him,^o but if so, he was dependent on getting some one to tell him what was in them.^f On the other hand the reference to "Tales of the ancients that he hath put in writing; and they were dictated to him morn and even" does not make clear whether this was a written source or whether these tales were simply handed down from mouth to mouth. The way in which Muhammad has reproduced the eschatological material of Apocalyptic literature shows that in all probability he was not in direct touch with that literature himself; he

^fcf. R. Bell, The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment, London, 1926, p.112.

^ocf. T. Nöldeke, Geschichte des Qorans, 2^{te} Aufl. von F. Schwally, 1^{ter} Teil, Leipzig, 1909, p.134.

^xcf. A. Sprenger, Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed, 2^{ter} Bd., s. 390-397 (3 Bde., Berlin, 1861-1865).

was not using it directly as a written source, though it ultimately formed the background of much of the information that was transmitted to him orally. "Tales of the ancients" likewise, we may take it, was not used by him as a written source, if indeed there existed at all a compilation under that title. The reference in his opponents' charge may simply be to oral transmissions of Apocryphal or Biblical material with certain eschatological elements which reached Muhammad at third hand and influenced him in the formulation of his teaching.

In seeking then to ascertain the more immediate channel by which his eschatological ideas reached him, we are not endeavouring to establish any direct literary dependence on the Jewish and Christian sources we have traced but rather to ascertain the probable line of communication by which these sources were made available to Muhammad and at length found a place in the pages of the Qur'an.

It is hardly possible to separate in detail these sources and distinguish between the eschatological influence of Judaism and that of Christianity, yet when we consider that the Apocalyptic literature, with which we have been mainly dealing, though originally Jewish was preserved and developed by Christianity rather than by Judaism, and when we remember that it was precisely in the East, on the confines of Arabia, that Judaistic forms of Christianity long maintained themselves, we are not unprepared to find the more immediate channel of eschatological influence predominantly Christian in character while at the same time we are ready to recognise certain nominally Christian elements as deriving from ancient Jewish thought.

To begin with the arguments for the Resurrection, it is significant that these appear not only in Rabbinical literature, as we have seen, but also in Syrian Christian literature,

as Tor Andrae has shown in his recent illuminating study.^x

Aphraates, for example, writes: "In the beginning God created Adam, forming him out of dust, and making him to stand upright. If He then, when Adam was not yet, created him out of nothing, how much more is it now a light thing for Him to awaken him, since he is sown in the earth . . . When no seed was sown in the earth, the earth brought forth what was not fallen into it, and when it had not conceived it brought forth in its virginity. How then should this be difficult, that the earth again should make to sprout forth what is fallen into it, and should bear after it has conceived?"^o Similarly, in the Syrian

Didaskalia: "As at the beginning God uttered His command and the world came into being . . . so will He in special manner awaken and bring to life man who is His creation. For if He has set up and established the world out of nothing, so it is the much more easy that He, out of what is, should make alive and awaken man who is the creation of His hands, as He also by the semen in the womb clothes man with form and makes him to grow."^w Again, in Ephraim, man calls to death: "The foetus in the womb, which is buried there confutes thee. To me it announces the living again of the dead, but to thee annihilation."^x Further, the Catholicus Babaï, in endeavouring to prove to the Persian king the truth of the Resurrection says: If thou dost not understand the truth of my words, consider the origin of man. He originates out of a drop, which in the dark-

* S.Ephraemi Syri Carmina Nisibena, ed.G.Bickell, Lipsiae, 1866, LXV, 65-68, p.123.

w Die ältesten Quellen des orientalischen Kirchenrechts, 2tes Buch, Die syrische Didaskalia, von Hans Achelis u.Johs.Flemming, Leipzig, 1904, cap.XX. Von der Auferstehung der Todten, s.101.

o Aphrahat's des persischen Weisen Homilien, von G.Bert, Leipzig, 1888, Homilie VIII. Die Unterweisung von der Auferstehung der Todten, § 2, s.133.

x Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum, Uppsala, 1926, s.164 ff.

ness of the inward parts comes forth. Then he becomes limbs and veins and bones and after nine months emerges in complete form by the omnipotence of God. The Resurrection is the return of men and their bodies after decay in this same form.^x

With regard to the condition of the dead before the Resurrection, Muhammad, we have seen, had little to say. He represents death as a kind of sleep, which the soul spends in a dreamlike condition, and which afterwards appears to it to have lasted only a short time: "The wicked will swear that not above an hour have they waited (Sura 30,54-55); "They shall seem as though they had waited but an hour of the day (Sura 10,46); "Ye shall seem to have tarried but a little while" (Sura 17,54). Now it is precisely in the East Syrian Church that the old Semitic doctrine of the sleep of the soul was developed and for long held sway. We find it first in Aphraates who taught that "the righteous sleep and their sleep is to them sweet day and night; they note not that the whole night is long - it is but an hour in their eyes But to the sinners sleep comes (with difficulty) and they are like a man, on whom has fallen a severe and high fever and who tosses about on his bed, perturbed the whole night which seems endless to him; and he is afraid of the morning, when his Lord will condemn him."^o

Further Babai the Great taught that the soul cannot be active without the body; it finds itself thus after death in a condition resembling sleep: "When man dies, his soul also dies with him and is awakened just as the body is awakened."^z

It is significant that Babai the Great also used the legend of the Seven Sleepers as an argument for the

^z Patrologia Orientalis, ed.R.Graffin, et F.Nau, Tomus VII, Paris, 1911, p.191.

^o Aphrahat's des persischen Weisen Homilien, von G.Bert, Leipzig, 1888. Homilie VIII, § 8, s. 141.

^x Patrologia Orientalis, ed.R.Graffin et F.Nau, Tomus VII, Paris, 1911, II M 8r. Addai Scher, Histoire Nestorienne, p.130.

dreamlike state of the soul after death^x - a story similarly used by Muhammad in connection with his proclamation of the Resurrection.^o

When we turn to Muhammad's conception of the Judgment on the Resurrection Day, we find ourselves in a world of ideas, dependent indeed upon Apocalyptic literature, but ideas that came to him not directly therefrom but through the proclamation of them on the lips of preachers and teachers. Syrian Christian literature, especially in the homiletical teaching of Ephraim, has much eschatological matter that is echoed not only in substance but also in form in the pages of the Qur'an, though here again it is not a question of direct literary dependence on the part of Muhammad. Ephraim, the greatest of the preachers of the Syrian Church, treats of no theme so impressively as of that of the Last Judgment, and it is significant that the same thoughts are most variously expressed again and again, often in the same words, just as we have seen to be the case with Muhammad.

With regard to what we have called the dramatic character of the Judgment, we find that Ephraim always speaks of the Judgment as of an immediate imminent event, he seems actually to see the terrible Hour drawing nigh: "For already, brethren, has that fearful and shuddering day overtaken us." It breaks in upon mankind with a fearful thunderclap. While men lie in sweet slumber, "suddenly from heaven comes a great sound and shuddering thunder with flashes of lightning made terrible with quaking of the earth."* The sound of the trumpet makes the whole world to totter. With the earthquake are the heavens rolled together, the stars fall down as fruit from the figtree or dry leaves from the trees. The sun becomes dark from fear, the moon trembles with horror. The shining

* cf. Op.cit., : Graece^{et} Latine I, 52.

† cf. Opera omnia, Romae, 1732-46: Graece et Latine II, 50.

o cf. Sura 18, 8-25.

x cf. Tor Andrae, Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum, Uppsala, 1926, s. 158.

stars become dark from anguish before this Judgment. The earthquake betakes itself to the sea, rooting it up so that it disappears and is annihilated. The dust of the earth catches fire, and all becomes smoke.^o The mountains melt from fear as lead in the furnace or as burning lime and all hills collapse."^x At this point in Ephraim's description takes place the Resurrection of the dead: "The sound of the trumpet goes forth, in order to waken those who rest in the graves. At the second bugle-call all the dead stand up. Quicker than a twinkling of the eye is the sign of the Son, who assembles all the dead to the place of righteous Judgment."[/]

We are reminded here of Muhammad's similar description of two blasts on the trumpet, the second of which announces the Resurrection, calling forth the dead from their graves (Sura 39,68), and also his description of the haste with which the Resurrection is accomplished (Sura 16, 79).

The anguish that seizes all is very vividly described: "Fear befalls all living beings, who become as dead. God stands up for the Judgment and all that is created passes away. Men dare not hope on account of the fierce anger of the Judge. For the Judgment God stands erect, heaven and earth are dissolved, the whole world quakes and all its glory passes away."^{*} "Then, brethren, distress and fear and distraction (will be) upon every man because of the loud sound and noise of the trumpet and from dread and anticipation of what is coming upon the world."^o The Judge Himself is then made visible with the cleaving asunder of the heavens: "Then the heavens will be rent asunder and there will be revealed the King of Kings and Ruler of Rulers, as

^o Op. cit., Graece et Latine, II, 193.

^{*} Op. cit., Syriace et Latine, III, 634.

[/] Op. cit., Syriace et Latine, III, 636.

^x Op. cit., Syriace et Latine, III, 634.

^o cf. Sura 44, 9.

terrible lightning, with great power and incomparable glory."^x
 The representation here of the appearing of God as Judge is similar to that of the Qur'an in Sura 69, 16-17:

"And the heaven shall cleave asunder,
 for on that day it shall be fragile;
 And the angels shall be on its sides, and over
 them on that day eight shall bear up the throne of thy
 Lord."

We turn to the principles of the Judgment and here also we find in Ephraim's teaching, as in Muhammad's, similar traits. In the hour of Judgment man stands alone forsaken by all and with none to help him: "Let us consider that in nothing will the ends of the earth help us in that hour; let us lay to heart that there no one is able to succour another, but each has to carry his own burden" ^o "In that hour brother cannot help brother, nor parents children, nor children parents, nor friends friends, nor a man his spouse." [†] The phrase 'each will carry his own burden' (ἑκάστος βαρύνει τὸ ἴδιον φορτίον), used more than once by Ephraim, is similar to the Qur'anic mode of expression 'and the burdened soul shall not bear the burden of another' (ولا تزر وازرة وزر أخرى). [‡] The intercession of one for another is excluded -

"Even the Seraphs do not make any effort (to interpose on behalf of sinners) for they also stand there in confusion and fear. They behold the glowing wrath of the Judge and remain silent as the grave. The saints dare not direct any request to Him for the smoke of His burning wrath goes up. They shake for fear that they might be reckoned among the sinners." ^o The normal teaching of Muhammad in the same way excludes the idea

^o Op. cit., Syriace et Latine, III, 635.

[†] Sura 35,19; cf. 53,39; 39,9; 17,16; 6,164.

[‡] Op. cit., Graece et Latine, I, 29, cf. III, 371.

^o Op. cit., Graece et Latine, II, 211.

^x Op. cit., Graece et Latine, II, 214.

of intercession at the day of Judgment,^x though the Qur'an bears witness that the possibility of intercession was still at the back of the Prophet's mind.^o Ephraim's teaching, however, in this connection was in opposition to the prevailing view of Syrian Christianity.

The high place given to 'works' by Ephraim is also to be noted. "Blessed are they who are vigilant in the giving of alms; blessed are they who are intent on prayers; blessed are they who are busy every day with the salvation of their souls." / In the terrible hour of death nothing holds one back but one's deeds: "Therefore let us send in advance for ourselves good works, in order that when we go hence they may receive us into the city of the saints."^{.x} Almsgiving extinguishes sins: "Oh! how many tears we need on account of that hour which we neglect, for by tears and almsgiving we are able to wipe out the accusations registered against us." ^o In the Syrian Church generally, almsgiving held a very high place, higher indeed than any other 'work'. The one great basis for hope was the doing of this 'good work' before one passed away from this world. Muhammad generally speaks in the Qur'an of 'faith and good works' as the basis of reward #for men, yet a high place is given there to almsgiving:"

Give ye your alms openly? It is well.
Do ye conceal them and give them to the poor?
This, too, will be of advantage to you, and will do
away your sins: and God is cognisant of your actions"

(Sura 2, 273); "Ye shall never attain to goodness till ye give alms of that which ye love; and whatever ye give, of a truth God knoweth it" (Sura 3, 86); "If ye lend God a generous loan, He will double it to you and will forgive you, for God is grateful, long-suffering" (Sura 64, 17); "Verily, they who give alms

^oOp.cit., Graece et Latine, II, 215.

^{.x}Op.cit., Graece et Latine, II, 152.

[/]Op.cit., Graece et Latine, II, 221.

^ocf.Sura 20, 108; 19, 88-90.

^xcf.Sura 2,45; 80,33-37; 31,32; 16,112; 82,18-19.

both men and women, and they who lend a generous loan to God, - doubled shall it be to them - and they shall have a noble recompense," (Sura 57, 17).

As a consequence of Ephraim's view, those who have lived careless and indifferent lives find themselves in a helpless condition and have a woeful reckoning to meet at the Judgment. The frivolous worldlings now perceive, when it is too late, their abysmal ruin and in their despair they acknowledge their sins. They have spent their lives in negligence, vain pleasure, jesting and laughter; they have held the sacred writings in derision, laughing over their threats and making fun of those who read them; they have not fasted nor watched, nor have they shown pity to the poor; they have been deceived by the vanity of the world.. In bitter tears they lament aloud - "Oh! how much time we have lost in carelessness! alas! how we have jested! how we have scoffed on hearing the Scriptures!" ^x In similar fashion does Muhammad speak of unbelievers, who at the end acknowledge their guilt, having treated Allah's revelation as a delusion and enjoyed the good things of this life for a season, utterly careless of the reckoning yet to come: "Oh! our sighs for past negligence of this (hour)!" (Sura 6,31); "Oh misery! for my failures in duty towards God! and verily I was of those who scoffed" (Sura 39, 57).

The final reckoning in store for the worldlings is described by Ephraim in such terms as these: "Then at length being driven with blows by fierce angels and hurried on they make off at the run, clashing their teeth and turning quickly and frequently behind to see the righteous from whom they have been separated" ^o - terms that are equivalent to such Qur'anic descriptions as: "If thou didst see when the angels cause the

^o Op.cit., Graece et Latine, II, 220.

^x Op.cit., Graece et Latine, II, 201.

infidels to die! They smite their faces and their backs^x
 It is a scene of utter humiliation and degradation for the sinners when they are thus driven off to Hell by the angels of punishment.

Perhaps it is, however, in the descriptions of the future abode of the righteous that Ephraim and Muhammad are most akin. That abode is spoken of by Ephraim as a garden situated above the highest mountains: "its fountains are saturated with perfumes, but when they reach us (as rivers) they are deprived (of this property) on our earth so that we may drink of them."^o Certain grades are distinguished in Paradise - "the bottom of Paradise belongs to the penitent, the middle part to the righteous, the upper part to the victorious (i.e., the martyrs), and the top to the Divine Majesty."^f Though the Qur'an is vague and indefinite in this connection, we have seen indications of rank in Sura 56, 8-10, under the designations 'the people of the right hand' and 'the preceders', while Sura 4, 97 speaks of 'those who contend earnestly with their persons and with their substance' as being assigned 'a rank above those who sit at home'; verse 71 of the latter Sura refers to what may be four separate classes or ranks, namely, the Prophets, the Sincere, the Martyrs, and the Just; and a verse like the following (Sura 17, 22) shows that the idea of 'grades' in Paradise was not foreign to Muhammad's mind: "See how we have caused some of them to excel others! but the next life shall be greater in its grades, and greater in excellence."

With regard to the special position that Ephraim evidently assigns to the martyrs, we may add here that the Syrian Church held what was the ordinary Christian view that the souls of the martyrs went straight to Paradise. "No one, who has departed hence out of this life," Tertullian had said,

^f Op.cit., Syriace et Latine, III, 568.

^o Op.cit., Syriace et Latine, III, 563, 567.

^x Sura 8, 52.

"dwells forthwith with the Lord, unless by the privilege of martyrdom, according to which he will dwell in Paradise and not in the underworld."^x The martyrs are thus given a higher grade of blessedness, being immediately after death raised so that they are not submerged by the general Judgment, but rather allowed to act as Christ's assessors. Mar Isaï speaks of the souls of the martyrs as in Paradise: "One believed that they were dead, but by their death they have slain sin, and are alive with God." ^o Muhammad speaks in almost the same way of the martyrs: "And repute not those slain on God's path to be dead. Nay, alive with their Lord, are they richly sustained; rejoicing in what God of His bounty hath vouchsafed them, filled with joy for those who follow after them, but have not yet overtaken them, that on them nor fear shall come, nor grief" (Sura 3, 163-164); "And say not of those who are slain on God's path that they are dead; nay, they are living! But ye understand not" (Sura 2, 149).

Again, Ephraim speaks of a fountain in Paradise that brings forth the fruits of the various months of the year and of channels breaking forth therefrom with "Wine, Milk, Honey and Butter."^{*} ~~†~~ In the Qur'anic counterpart,^o rivers of 'water', 'milk', 'wine', and 'honey' appear, "the rivers of water, which corrupt not" being peculiar to Muhammad's description. Amid such a pleasure garden, with its wonderful fountains and rivers, the righteous have their abode. "There saw I now the tents of the righteous and themselves covered over with ointments, fragrant with perfumes, wreathed with flowers and crowned with

^o Sura 47, 16-17.

^{*} We have seen that II Enoch 8, 1-8; 9-1 and the Apocalypse of Paul 23 have "oil" instead of 'butter'.

~~†~~ Op.cit., Syriace et Latine, III, 594.

^o Patrologia Orientalis, ed.R.Graffin et F.Nau, Tomus VII, Paris, 1911, I MGR Addaï Scher, Traité d' Isaï sur les Martyrs, p.32.

^x De resurr.43 (cited in a note by H.Achelis, Die syrische Didaskalia, s.317).

fruits."^x Arrayed in this fashion as for a banquet, they are further described by Ephraim in their festive condition: "As they recline at table, trees (overshadow) them in the open air. Flowers grow under them, fruits above them. Their covering is of fruits, their carpet of flowers. Who had ever heard of or seen a sheltering cloud consisting of fruits overhead or a carpet of flowers underfoot!"

"Soft breezes blow there in constant change, and like Martha and Mary they hasten to prepare the feast. For here the constant guests never withdraw from the banquet. But Martha became tired and ventured to grumble against him, who invites to Paradise, where the servants wait without becoming weary." "In Paradise stand (as servants) swift winds before the righteous. One blows satiety, another makes drink to flow. One gentle breeze is filled with oil, another with ointment. Who ever saw winds waiting! Or breezes that could be eaten or drunk! Here winds give spiritual nourishment after a spiritual manner. This is a feast without weariness, where hands do not grow tired." ^o The significant thing here is that 'winds' take the place of 'servants' at the unceasing banquet of Paradise. In the corresponding Qur'anic descriptions the youthful attendants at the heavenly banquet are thus referred to: "Aye-blooming youths go round among them. When thou lookest at them thou wouldest deem them scattered pearls;" [†] "And youths shall go round among them beautiful as imbedded pearls." ^x

The spiritualizing of the attendants of Paradise does not prevent Ephraim from speaking of the righteous as enjoying there the fruits of the vine: "Whoever up to the time of his going hence has refrained from wine is eagerly awaited by the Vines of Paradise. Each of them stretches over to him its

[†] Sura 52, 24.

[†] Sura 76, 19; cf. 56, 17.

^o Op.cit., Syriace et Latine, III, 589.

^x Op.cit., Syriace et Latine, III, 574.

hanging clusters. And anyone who has lived chastely as a celibate is received into their pure womb, because he as a monk fell not into the bed and womb of earthly love." x

There are two ideas here that are echoed in the Qur'an: the one is obvious, namely, that of the vine-clusters bending low, as in Sura 76, 14, where the shades of Paradise "shall be close over them, and low shall its fruits hang down;" the other is cryptic, namely, that of the vine-clusters as maidens of Paradise, corresponding to the Qur'anic 'Ĥūrīs' or 'dark-eyed damsels of Paradise.' o

Finally, according to Ephraim, Paradise is the abode of 'peace without fear', / as in the Qur'an it is called 'the abode of peace', * 'where no fear shall be upon you, neither shall ye be put to grief'. e

It is evident that Ephraim and Muhammad are very closely related in their descriptions of Paradise. The same crude realism appears in both, though Ephraim is careful to explain that his description should not be taken too literally. Human nature is so weak that it cannot comprehend the true greatness of Paradise; it has to visualize it under earthly conceptions, and describe it under earthly forms. Hence the beauty of Paradise is but pallid, when it is thus painted in human colours. φ

Nevertheless the history of eastern monasticism confirms the fact that the yearning for the joy of life, which one sought so powerfully to suppress, found for itself compensation in the representations of the other world. The material,

φ cf. Op.cit., Syriace et Latine, III, 596.

e Sura 7, 47.

* Sura 6, 127; 10, 26.

/ Op.cit., Syriace et Latine, III, 575.

o cf. Sura 52, 20, etc.

x Op.cit., Syriace et Latine, III, 584.

rather than the spiritual, side of these representations tended to be emphasized and their crude realism is not so much to be made a reproach against either Ephraim or Muhammad as to be reckoned a legacy from popular Christianity, itself dependent, in this regard, on Jewish materialistic descriptions of the Messianic age. Popular belief is notoriously vague and indefinite regarding the next world and though Ephraim attempted to spiritualize the ordinary conceptions around him he could not free himself from the thought-forms of his time. No more could Muhammad who had to consider the heathen Arabs around him with their altogether materialistic outlook on life.

To return to Ephraim's conception of the Judgment, we note further here that there are two conflicting points of view in his teaching. Alongside of his representation of the great Judgment Day is another representation, according to which the Judgment takes place immediately after death. The hour of death is described, in language like that used in connection with the Last Day, as the great and terrible day when sinners must appear before their Judge. The heavenly informers drag the dead off to the place of reckoning: "There comes the day, brethren, it certainly comes and will not delay, when man must leave everything and everyone, when he, alone and forsaken, humbled and ashamed, naked and without a helper or a protector, without a companion and without comrades, unprepared and disheartened, dies in the midst of his carelessness, on a day that he knows not, in an hour when he imagines nothing, in which he lives in abundance, heaping up treasures, feasting, and without a care. There comes suddenly an hour and all is nought." ^x While the dying yet speaks to those in his presence, "his tongue is suddenly bound, the thoughts are confused, the mouth becomes dumb, the voice dies away, when the mighty powers come, and the hosts arrive, and the informers of God call the soul that it may go forth from the body, when they lead us away inexorably and drag us off to Judgment." ^o The day of death is the day

^o Op.cit., Graece et Latine, III, 265.

^x Op.cit., Graece et Latine, III, 262.

"when the heavenly informers come and carry away the soul through the air to the place, where stand the powers and authorities and worldly rulers of opposing powers, our bitter accusers, the terrible toll-gatherers, account-makers, tax-collectors, who meet us to bring us to account, and examine everything strictly " x

This association in Ephraim of the Judgment with the day of death recalls to us Qur'anic passages where the carrying away to Judgment is closely connected with the terror of the hour of death. For example, in the Sura on the Resurrection, in the midst of a description of that last great day, we read -

"Aye, when (the soul) shall come up into the throat,
And there shall be a cry, 'Who hath a charm that can restore him?'
And the man feeleth that the time of his departure is come,
And when one leg shall be laid over the other,
To thy Lord on that day shall he be driven on;
For he believed not, and he did not pray,
But he called the truth a lie and turned his back,
Then, walking with haughty men, rejoined his people." °

And in Sura 56, 82-94, we similarly read:

"Why, at the moment when (the soul of a dying man) shall come up into his throat,
And when ye are gazing at him,
Though we are nearer to him than ye, although ye see us not:-
Why do ye not, if ye are to escape the judgment,
Cause that soul to return? Tell me, if ye speak the truth.
But as to him who shall enjoy near access to God,
His shall be repose, and pleasure, and a garden of delights.
Yea, for him who shall be of the people of the right hand,
(Shall be the greeting) from the people of the right hand -
'Peace be to thee'.
But for him who shall be of those who treat the prophets as deceivers,
And of the erring,
His entertainment shall be of scalding water,
And the broiling of hell-fire."

Further, the following passages speak of the angels of death who are waiting ready to carry off the soul: " But couldst thou see when the ungodly are in the floods of death, and the angels reach forth their hands, saying, 'Yield up your souls: - this day shall ye be recompensed with a humiliating punishment

° Sura 75, 26-33.

x Op.cit., Graece et Latine, III, 266.

for your untrue sayings about God, and for proudly rejecting his signs!' " (Sura 6, 93); "When the two (angels) charged with taking account shall take it, one sitting on the right hand, the other on the left:

Not a word doth he utter, but there is a watcher with him ready (to note it down):
 And the stupor of certain death cometh upon him:-
 'This is what thou wouldst have shunned' -
 And there shall be a blast on the trumpet, -
 it is the threatened day!" (Sura 50, 16-19).

There can be little doubt of the influence of Ephraim's conception here on Muhammad's thought. The object in view in both cases of associating the hour of death with the great Day of Judgment is to awaken fear that may lead to repentance. The conception in the case of Muhammad is not so clearly defined as with Ephraim, but its presence in both forms a significant link between the preacher of Arabia and the preacher of Syria. In itself the idea is tracable ultimately to ancient Egyptian representations of the other world. The element of fear which both have in view in this connection is a legacy of early Christianity, preserved in monastic circles of both Egypt and Syria. In Egyptian monasticism there were different strains of thought and feeling, and the coalescing of death and Judgment led to the emphasizing of this element of fear. The monk is afraid above all of the hour of death, when the informers come to seize his soul. This terrible hour is ever before his eyes; the torments of Hell seem already to be upon him. "Let us weep, brothers," says Macarius, when the monks of the Nitrian desert sent for him, "so that our eyes overflow with tears before we go to the place, where our tears will burn our bodies." ^x This fear becomes a sign of piety, the chief mark indeed of genuine piety. Abba Sisoës says to three monks who came complaining of being pursued by a constant horror of the river of fire, the chattering teeth, the worm that never dies, and the outermost

^x Cited from 'Book of Paradise', ed. Budge, I, 634, by Tor Andrae, in 'Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum, Uppsala, 1926, p.112.

darkness: "Blessed are you, my brothers. I am envious of you. When such thoughts dwell in your souls, it is impossible for you to commit a sin." ^x The last hours of the saints breathe the same fear of impending Judgment, as in the case of Apa Psote, who died as a martyr in the persecution under Diocletian. Among his last words are: ". . . . I am afraid of the road whereby I shall depart to God and of the Powers that stand on it because I am flesh and blood like every other man and no one is sinless in the sight of God. . . : And there is especially the great terror of the difficulty and of the great abomination of this river of fire whereon roll waves upon waves (of flame) and the burning flames from which no man can escape. For whether a man be righteous or a sinner, all must be dipped in this river of fire before they can reach the awful throne. O this river of fire, which is full of trembling and horror! O this throne of terror! Every one must stand before it in fear and trembling, and anxiety and perturbation and the knocking of the knees together. Woe unto me, O my sons, for before I stand naked before the throne, my evil deeds shall stand there before me, in the order in which I committed them and I shall see them! Woe unto me at that moment, when He who seeth truly and who knoweth everything beforehand, shall pass sentence of judgment upon me!" ^o

The ascetic tendency often finds its motive similarly in the desire to escape future punishment. The thought of God's Judgment leads to stricter watchfulness and greater devotion. A pious father had for twenty years never slept lying down, but only in a sitting posture, and had partaken of food only every two, three or five days, and to the question why he had done this, he answers: "Because I see the Judgment of God before my eyes, I cannot become negligent, for I think always of the fact

^o Cited from 'Coptic Texts', ed. Budge, V, 726f. by Tor Andrae, in 'Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum', Uppsala, 1926, p. 113-4.

^x Cited from 'Book of Paradise', ed. Budge I, 631, by Tor Andrae, in 'Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum', Uppsala, 1926, p. 112.

that my sins are many." x In a word, to the monk negligence or carelessness with reference to the Judgment, is a dangerous enemy; to be afraid of the Judgment and of what it involves is a sure mark of genuine piety. Alongside this fear appears a sadness in the monastic outlook on life. Abba Poimen once passed by a cemetery and saw there a woman sitting weeping and said: "If every kind of fine music, which exists, were to resound here, it would not be able to change the sadness in the soul of this woman into joy. So it is fitting for the monk to have sadness in his soul."o

Weeping thus naturally comes to have great value and is estimated very highly as a work of great worth. Apa Zacchaeus "loved tears more than laughter and he ceased not to weep either by day or by night." On being asked why he wept thus he quoted the words - "Blessed are those who mourn for they shall be comforted" - and said: "If this passage be kept strictly by you, you shall have relief from your sufferings. For it is right, that all men should keep before them these three (!) things, that is to say, their departure from the body and the sentence that shall be passed upon us on the great and terrible Day of Judgment." / The monk should certainly weep on account of his sins, but it is specially the thought of the Judgment that makes the tears to flow. "Laugh not, my brother," said Abba Ammon, "for when you laugh, you drive away the fear of God from your soul." x This mournful strain in Egyptian monasticism, which Tor Andrae designates Coptic as

x Cited from 'Book of Paradise', ed. Budge, I, 632, by Tor Andrae, in 'Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum', Uppsala, 1926, p.118.

/ Cited from 'Coptic Texts', ed. Budge, V, 955f. by Tor Andrae, in 'Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum,' Uppsala, 1926, p.118.

o Cited from 'Book of Paradise', ed. Budge, I, 631, by Tor Andrae, in 'Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum,' Uppsala, 1926, p.117.

x Cited from 'Book of Paradise', ed. Budge, II, 500, by Tor Andrae, in 'Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum', Uppsala, 1926, p.115.

opposed to the Hellenistic strain, preserves in some respects the attitude of early Christianity with its emphasis on the thought of Judgment, its realism with regard to belief in the other world, combined with its deep religious earnestness, but it preserves also the attitude of ancient Egyptian religion in its dark colouring of gruesome primitive feeling and in its having always in view, not a general final Judgment, but a Judgment of the individual immediately after death.

When we turn to the Syrian developments of manasticism we find the same emphasis on the element of fear in connection with the Judgment. The high place given to this element of fear in Syrian monasticism is no doubt a result of early Christian feeling, yet the influence of the mournful strain in the monastic outlook of Egypt also played its part. Weeping and mourning are the peculiar marks of Syrian piety, especially among the monks. The latter accompany their devotions day and night - especially by night - with weeping. "Know, brothers," says Ephraim, "that there is nothing sweeter on earth than the joy which comes from contrition When one, who has experienced the sweetness of tears, gives himself up to prayer, he will wish to be raised from the earth. In this hour he is indeed quite out of the body, out of the whole world, his walk is no more on earth." ^x What makes the tears of the penitent to flow is the fear that is called forth by one's sins, by the impending Judgment, and the eternal punishment. No glad hope fills the heart of the pious, for the coming of Christ is to their minds the coming of their Judge. Ephraim thus describes this mournful attitude: One day he awoke early in Edessa and scanned the heavens with their shining stars. Then the thought comes to him of how the righteous will one day shine as the sun. But suddenly he reminds himself of 'that terrible coming of Christ.' At the same moment his bones begin to tremble, a sudden fear shoots through his body and soul, he begins to weep

^x Op.cit., Graece et Latine, II, 55.

and groan and calls out in great distress: "How I am found the sinful one in that awful hour!" x When he thinks of his secret sins, he calls down woe upon himself and esteems the unborn happy, who have never seen the light of day.° Every means is taken to awaken the sense of sin, for therefrom comes the salutary fear of the Judgment, and from that fear come the tears that purify the soul, wash away the sins and extinguish the fire of Hell: "Holy and pure are tears before God, for they cleanse for ever the soul from sins" /

He asks God for the gift of tears "so that what is written may be erased with few tears, and the fire that burns may be quenched there with little weeping. For if here I weep there I shall be rescued from the unquenchable fire." x There is hardly another form of Christianity", says Tor Andrae, "in which the evangelical thoughts of forgiveness of sins and of adoption with God are so completely extinguished as in this Syrian monasticism." x The pious have here to earn forgiveness by their own lifelong repentance and self-torture. "Let us lament now," says Ephraim, "in order that we may be encouraged, let us be still in lowliness of mind in order that the Lord may behold our humility and suffering and set us free from all our sins." ø The relationship between man and God is not so much that of child and father as that of servant and master, and consequently it is conditioned not by love and trust but almost exclusively by reward and punishment.

ø Op.cit., Graece et Latine, II, 168.

x Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum, Uppsala, 1926, p.128.

x Op.cit., Graece et Latine, I, 154.

/ Op.cit., Graece et Latine, II, 55.

° Op.cit., Syriace et Latine, II, 352.

x Op.cit., Graece et Latine, I, 159.

"Come all you who wish to escape eternal punishment and inherit eternal life." ^x The direct incentive to good works is fear for the Day of Judgment; the thought of the Judgment makes one do good to widows and orphans, strangers, the poor, and prisoners.^o Nothing holds one back from the way of salvation so often as riches, and the passion for the good things of the world. Syrian piety in this particular trait is surprisingly akin to what is found in the Qur'an. The foolish worldling, says Ephraim, "divides and seeks to receive more, but death blots it out and gives him a space of three ells in the grave." [∕] In the Qur'an we read (Sura 102):

"The desire of increasing riches occupieth you,
Till ye come to the grave.
Nay! but in the end ye shall know -
Nay! once more, in the end ye shall know (your folly).
Nay! would that ye knew it with knowledge of certainty!
Surely ye shall see hell-fire.
Then shall ye surely see it with the eye of certainty;
Then shall ye on that day be taken to task concerning pleasures."

Riches in the end do not profit, for the grave awaits both rich and poor:

"I asked," says Ephraim, "righteousness: To whom belongs this grave and who is it that here lies so changed that he can no more be recognized? And righteousness gave me answer: Here lies buried an illustrious King. Come and see his humiliation! Beside him lies a beggar buried, see how the one is not to be distinguished from the other." ^x

In opposition to the watchfulness and fear and resulting struggle for salvation, which is to be attained by good works, stands the carelessness, the indifference, the negligence of the godless. At the last day the penitent mourn that they have wasted all their days in negligence: "I think of the sins which I have committed in my negligence and

^x Opera omnia, Romae 1732-46, Syriace et Latine, III, 277.

[∕] Carmina Nisibena, ed. G. Bickell, Lipsiae, 1866, LXXIV, 97-100, p. 139.

^o Op.cit., Graece et Latine, III, 371.

^x Op.cit., Graece et Latine, I, 28.

of the punishment which awaits me on their account; sudden horror courses through my bones, anguish and fear fall upon me . . . Youth and age have I spent in negligence." ^x This negligence or carelessness has reference chiefly to the future reward or requital, of which the godless take no notice and to which they are quite indifferent. Only the thought of death is fitted to shake one out of this careless condition.^o A similar place is given to 'carelessness' / in the Qur'an; it is the state in which the unbelieving live: "Think within thine own self on God, with lowliness and with fear and without loud spoken words, at even and at morn; and be not one of the heedless" (Sura 7, 204). The unbelievers "are they whose hearts and ears and eyes God hath sealed up: these are the careless ones: in the next world shall they perish beyond a doubt" (Sura 16,110). In particular, however, carelessness is, as in Ephraim, the condition of those who are indifferent to the future requital and the overhanging Judgment:

"This people's reckoning hath drawn nigh,
yet, (sunk) in carelessness, they turn aside"
(Sura 21,1);

"Warn them of the day of sighing when
the decree shall be accomplished,
While they are (sunk) in heedlessness and
while they believe not" (Sura 19,40).

To the soul on the Judgment Day it is said: "Of this day didst thou live in heedlessness: . . ." (Sura 50, 21). The same thought underlies the following Qur'anic passages:- "Verily, they who hope not to meet us, and find their satisfaction in this world's life, and rest on it, and who of our signs are heedless - These! their abode the fire, in recompense of their deeds! (Sura 10, 7-8); " . . . But truly, most men are of our signs regardless!" (Sura 10,92); "Therefore we took vengeance on them and drowned them in the sea, because they treated our

/ *أهمل* = *ἀμελεῖα*.

^o Op.cit., Graece et Latine, III, 115, 273.

^x S.Ephraemi Syri opera omnia, Romae, 1732-46,
Syriace et Latine, II, 350, 352.

signs as falsehoods and were heedless of them" (Sura 7, 132); "They know the outward shews of this life present, but of the next life are they careless" (Sura 30, 6).

Finally the earnest and worthy outlook of Syrian piety takes on rather a gloomy character. The carelessness, of which we have been speaking, is referred to by Ephraim as "the source of many evils",^x and among these evils are reckoned laughter, especially loud laughter, merriment, joking, talkativeness, good-natured gossip, singing and music. "Woe to those," says Ephraim, "who destroy this season of repentance and return with excitements and jests"^o; "alas! the reward of laughter." /

A similar attitude is found in the Qur'an, where the life of this world is spoken of as "a play and pastime" (Sura 6, 32; 47,38; 57,19), and unbelievers are referred to as those "who" make "their religion a sport and pastime, and whom the life of the world hath deceived" (Sura 7,49; 6, 69). In Paradise, on the other hand, there will be no empty vain talk: "No vain discourse shalt thou hear therein". (Sura 88,11; cf.19,63; 56,24; 78,35). Scoffing and jesting, raillery and derision are what the believers meet with in this world, but the salutation of 'Peace' awaits them in the future mansion (cf.Sura 5,62-63; 19,63).

There can be little doubt that Muḥammad was in some way in touch with the religious thoughts and even with the forms of expression that dominated the monastic piety of Syria, which was itself in some respects, as we have seen, strongly influenced by Egyptian monasticism. That he had come in contact with the eschatological teaching of Ephraim is evident; that his contact therewith was, however, indirect is also

/ Op.cit., Graece et Latine, III, 53.

o Op.cit., Graece et Latine, II, 199.

x Op.cit., Graece et Latine, III, 114.

evident. According to Tor Andrae,^x it was made through the preaching of Nestorian missionaries from Yaman. If so, it would probably be at one of the great Arabian fairs, such as 'Ukāz, that Muhammad heard the message of the East Syrian Church on the lips of its missionaries from South Arabia. Not all of the elements of that Christian message would impress themselves on the mind of the Prophet with equal strength; some parts thereof would indeed make little or no appeal to him; but the eschatological element would affect with great force a religious nature such as his and cause deep stirrings within him that afterwards found expression in his reiterated and awe-inspiring Qur'anic warnings regarding the future. If our thesis is substantiated - whatever the line of development along which other aspects of his teaching may have reached him - we are now in a position to say that we have traced the probable path of communication by which Apocalyptic literature with its great wealth of Jewish and Christian eschatological teaching played its part in formulating the Prophet's idea# of the Last Judgment.

^x Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum#, Uppsala, 1926, s.16ff., 201.

main presupposition in the Prophet's mind was a resurrection of all mankind from the dead - an idea that was completely foreign to the pagan Arabs and which, when first proclaimed in their presence met with unqualified ridicule.

"Shall we indeed be restored as at first?

What! when we have become rotten bones?" (Sura 79, 10-11);

"What! when dead, and turned to dust and bones, shall we indeed be raised?

Our sires also of olden times?" (Sura 37, 16-17);

"There is but our first death, neither shall we be raised again: Bring back our sires, if ye be men of truth" (Sura 44, 34-35).

Two main arguments the Prophet used to make clear the possibility of a quickening of the dead:

(a) the revivifying of plants in nature -

"And thou hast seen the earth dried up and barren: but when we send down the rain upon it, it stirreth and swelleth, and groweth every kind of luxuriant herb. This, for that God is the Truth, and that it is He who quickeneth the dead, and that He hath power over everything: And that 'the Hour' will indeed come - there is no doubt of it - and that God will wake up to life those who are in the tombs" (Sura 22, 5^b - 7);

"He bringeth forth the living out of the dead, and He bringeth forth the dead out of the living: and He quickeneth the earth when dead. Thus it is that ye too shall be brought forth" (Sura 30, 18);

Look then at the traces of God's mercy - how after its death he quickeneth the earth! This same God will surely quicken the dead, for to all things His might is equal" (Sura 30, 49);

(b) the wonderful origin of man -

"O men! if ye doubt as to the Resurrection, yet of a truth have we created you of dust, then of the moist germs of life, then of clots of blood, then of pieces of flesh shapen and unshapen, that we might give